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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS



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22 August 1984

**EAST EUROPE REPORT**  
**POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS**

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### CEMA PROSPECTS, SCIENTIFIC-TECHNICAL COOPERATION OUTLINED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 39 No 7, Jul 84 (signed to press 15 Jun 84)  
pp 597-602

[Declaration: "On the Principal Directions of Further Development and the Intensification of Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation of the CEMA Member States"]

[Text] The leading representatives of the communist and workers parties and the chiefs of government in the countries that attended the top-level economic conference of the CEMA member states discussed the most important issues of the current phase and the prospects for the economic development and mutual cooperation among the fraternal countries and fully agreed it was necessary and relevant to expand the dimensions of this cooperation further and enhance its effectiveness.

The conference participants made the point that in the 1970's, after the top-level 23rd (special) CEMA conference in 1969, the countries in the socialist community, due to the selfless efforts of the peoples and under the leadership of the communist and workers parties, significantly consolidated their economic and scientific-technical potentials. Comprehensive social programs were implemented, and a stable growth of the peoples' prosperity was ensured, as was the further development of science, public education, culture, public health and social security. The cooperation among the fraternal parties and states was intensified and broadened. That contributed to significant successes in the construction of socialism and communism.

The experience and practice of the CEMA member states convincingly demonstrate the fundamental advantages inherent in socialism over capitalism, such as social and national equality, planned economic development, ideological social cohesion, confidence in the future, constant human welfare, and the all-round development of personality. On that basis the socialist way of life and the political system of socialism are developing and socialist democracy is being perfected, by which human rights and freedom are guaranteed to all.

The CEMA member states' economic and social progress is diametrically contrary to the crisis in the capitalist countries. Once again the inability of capitalism has become manifest to get rid of penetrating economic crises and heavy sociopolitical convulsions.

The grown economic capacity of the CEMA member states became the material basis of their policy on peace, international detente and mutual advantageous cooperation with other states. The international authority of socialism as the decisive factor in the social progress of humanity and its influence on the course of international development were enhanced significantly.

The collectively elaborated course toward intensifying the cooperation and development of socialist economic integration, becoming a significant factor for all-round progress by each fraternal country and of alignment in economic developmental levels, has turned out to be perfectly correct.

Resolutely implemented in the relations among them, at the present and in the future, are the principles of socialist internationalism, of the respect for national sovereignty, independence and national interests, of the noninterference in domestic affairs, complete equality, mutual advantage and comradely reciprocal aid, that are set down in the CEMA Statute and in the comprehensive program for the further intensification and perfecting of cooperation and the development of socialist economic integration, having proven themselves.

A significant contribution to the intensification and all-round cooperation among the fraternal states, to consolidating their unity and cohesion, is made by each CEMA member state, particularly by the Soviet Union.

The conference attendants underscored the relevance of the comprehensive program on the further intensification and perfecting of cooperation and the development of socialist economic integration and of the long-range multilateral and bilateral cooperation programs, the stipulations of which are brought to realization in practice.

The CEMA member states' planned economic development and mutual cooperation made possible greatly mitigating in many areas the effect from the crisis in the capitalist world on their economy while counteracting the aggressive course of imperialist circles and the attempts by the United States and some of its allies to engage in a policy of economic pressure and discrimination.

At the same time, the conference attendants noted that there still were important reserves for expanding their mutual collaboration, for intensifying production specialization and cooperation, and for increasing mutual trade on behalf of a more efficient use of the fraternal states' production and scientific-technical potential and of improving the prosperity of their peoples.

The leading representatives of the fraternal parties and governments concentrated their attention on solving tasks resulting from the changes in domestic and external conditions that have occurred in recent years.

They agreed to charge the planning and economic organs of their countries when they prepare the national economic plans up to the end of the current five-year plan and correlate the annual import-export protocols to seek opportunities for expanding the trade with the CEMA member states on a reciprocal advantageous basis that will exceed the limits of the long-term accords in effect.

The conference attendants expressed the conviction that the CEMA member states had all it takes to increase their mutual collaboration to a new level. They agree that the most important tasks of the CEMA member states in economic affairs and in mutual collaboration at present consist of the following:

- A speedier conversion of the economy to intensification and higher efficiency by perfecting the structure of social production, a more rational and economical use of available material and manpower resources, and a better use of the basic assets and of the scientific-technical potential;
- ensuring a further growth of social production as a foundation for consolidating the material-technical base of socialist society, to enhance the peoples' prosperity;
- improving the technical level, reliability and working life and quality of products, expansion and speedier replacement of assortments;
- developing the export potential, especially in the branches of the processing industry;
- a more rational distribution of locations of the productive forces; and
- an acceleration of the gradual alignment of economic development levels among the CEMA member states, especially of Vietnam, Cuba and the MPR, with the level of the European CEMA countries.

The conference decided to take another step toward intensifying the economic policy coordination by CEMA member states in areas relating to their mutual collaboration and, by interested countries, also in other areas of socioeconomic development, as these countries deem it necessary. The CEMA member states consider such a coordination the collective elaboration of solutions for great economic problems of mutual interest and of great importance to each fraternal country for determining the directions of its economic development and of its long-term cooperation, as well as jointly establishing ways of direct cooperation in science, technology, material production and investment construction. All that activity must contribute to mobilizing these countries' opportunities and strengthening their mutual collaboration with the aim of dynamic and harmonic economic development in each country and the community of the CEMA member states at large, based on all-round production intensification and the introduction of the international achievements in scientific-technical progress, to ensure the needed resources, especially fuels, energy, raw materials, foodstuffs and industrial consumer commodities, modern machines and equipment, and for the active participation by the CEMA member states in the international socialist and the international division of labor and an acceleration of the processes that align the economic development levels.

It was considered useful to strengthen the collective efforts by the communist and workers parties and by the governments of the CEMA member states in developing their cooperation and socialist economic integration and exchanging experiences in economic construction. To coordinate the principal economic strategy directions in the economic development of the CEMA member states long-range and to intensify the international socialist division of labor, it was deemed useful to conduct regularly top-level party and government executive meetings.

The conference attendants accept as a matter of course that economic plan coordination is concentrated on solving priority tasks, being the main tool for economic policy coordination in areas relating to mutual cooperation--and also to other areas by interested countries--and for forming stable economic and scientific-technical relations among CEMA member states and a basis for their drawing up their national plans for mutual collaboration.

In economic plan coordination, the planning and foreign trade organs, with the participation by branch organs and, if necessary, also the economic organizations, mainly have to coordinate the chief trends in the countries' specialization through the international socialist division of labor, the measures for increasing mutual deliveries in important commodities, the chief proportions and structure in their exchange of goods, and the objects of their cooperation in production.

Measures are taken to finish plan coordination before a new period of planning begins; the results are set down in pertinent accords and included in the national plans.

The conference attendants regard a broad production cooperation development and the establishing of direct relations among associations, enterprises and organizations as an important trend in perfecting the mechanism of economic collaboration with increased efficiency. To that end, the CEMA member states are going to take measures to invest them with the requisite authorizations and create relevant conditions for their collaboration. Moreover, favorable prerequisites are being created for forming joint firms, enterprises and other international economic organizations, based on economic cost accounting.

The conference participants thought an all-round acceleration of scientific-technical progress was most timely, and so they agreed to prepare, on the basis of national programs, a comprehensive scientific-technical progress program together for 15 to 20 years as the basis for working out a coordinated scientific-technical policy, even a streamlined one for some sectors, aiming at the fastest possible solution of important questions in science and technology through joint efforts, and at applying the results achieved in the interested countries at their reciprocal advantageous conditions.

It was considered necessary to strengthen cooperation in standardization and streamlining and to expand the exchange of information on scientific-technical accomplishments.

It was agreed that cooperation in machine building was to be done comprehensively and mainly aimed at supplying the crucial production branches with high-grade machinery and equipment that can meet the top technological world standards. Those countries are projecting the production of finished products as well as of spare parts and components and standard elements in machine building and spare parts for the mutually supplied technologies. Special importance is attached there to the development of electronics, microprocessors and robot technology.

The conference attendants are of the opinion that through mobilizing own resources and boosting reciprocal collaboration, all CEMA member states can cope with the raw material, fuel and energy problems. To that end, the CEMA member states are going to implement a complex of measures aimed in particular at a thrifty and rational use of energy sources and raw materials and the reduction of the energy and material intensity in production, based on introducing progressive technological processes, modern machines and equipment, and changes in the production structure and the raw material and energy consumption. They are also taking proper measures to develop cooperation in the production and mutual deliveries of fuels, energy and raw materials.

To set the economic terms that would ensure continued shipments for a number of raw materials and energy sources from the Soviet Union to meet the import requirements to the extent as set down by plan coordination and long-term accords, the interested CEMA member states, within the scope of their coordinated economic policy, are going to develop their production and export structure step by step and consistently and take the necessary measures in the fields of industrial investments, reconstruction and rationalization to make available to the Soviet Union the products it needs, especially foodstuffs and industrial consumer commodities and some types of construction materials, machines and equipment at a high grade and at top technological world standards.

Mutually acceptable solutions for these matters are worked out with an eye to the objective economic conditions of the USSR and other CEMA member states, to the production structure and the export-import transactions in those countries. That ensures a reciprocally advantageous balancing of costs and opens opportunities for further intensifying a stable long-term production specialization within the framework of the socialist community.

It was considered advisable to change the structure of energy production and expand the cooperation by principally developing nuclear energy, making a better use of all kinds of energy sources, including new non-conventional energy sources. The CEMA member states are working together on programs for building nuclear plants and nuclear heating plants up to the year 2000.

The CEMA member states are going to increase their efforts and mutual collaboration toward improving the structure of metallurgical production and the quality of the products, expanding their assortments, reducing the metal intensity of the products and producing quality steel and other high-grade semifabricates for the processing industry.

An agreement was made to start already in the years immediately ahead, on the basis of mutual cooperation and of production specialization and cooperation, a great increase in supplying chemical products while making a better use of the raw material resources for the chemical industry.

The conference attendants look at the all-round development of the branches in the agro-industrial complex and the cooperation in that sector as a priority task. The CEMA member states will attempt to increase food production through progressive technologies, the development and improvement of the material-technical base of agriculture and of the foodstuffs industry, and increasing mutual deliveries of foodstuffs, to improve public supplies and the consumption structure.

They are going to take the necessary measures, including investment participation by interested countries and their granting other economic terms to give interested export countries incentives on a bilateral or multilateral basis.

For better supplying the population with high-grade consumer goods, the CEMA member states will undertake joint measures to secure the raw material base for their manufacture, undertake the technical conversion and modernization in industrial branches concerned, greatly boost the production of such goods for mutual deliveries, expand the production cooperation for durables, and increase the trade in high-grade consumer commodities.

The CEMA member states are going to take coordinated measures for a more comprehensive development of transportation lines relating, in particular, to a closer plan coordination for transportation development, the correlation of mutually interesting investments for infrastructure development of the countries in this field, an improved passage capability at border railroad stations, and the perfecting of the planning system and the shipment of export-import commodities by all transportation agencies, with special attention paid to the need to improve the conditions for maritime transports to Vietnam and Cuba. As collaboration and economic integration are expanding and intensifying, reciprocal trade also will increase in the future.

The CEMA member states consider it their international obligation to grant further aid to Vietnam, Cuba and the MPR in accelerating and improving the efficiency of their economy, on the fair basis that now exists and with regard to the tasks of socialist industrialization in those countries, and to encourage their broad participation in international socialist division of labor.

The CEMA member states under prevailing conditions think it necessary to make the cooperation mechanism within the framework of CEMA more efficient so it will meet the tasks of improving international socialist division of labor and heightening its efficiency, of properly timed solutions for problems that have matured, and of strengthening the CEMA member states' incentives for placing priorities on their mutual collaboration. The task of organically combining planning activity cooperation with making an active use of the commodity-money relations remains relevant.

The price setting system in force in import-export and the foreign exchange and financing instruments for the cooperation will continue to be perfected, and the collective currency--the transferable ruble--is being strengthened further.

To the development and perfecting of the cooperation mechanism also must contribute the proposals to be worked out within CEMA for aligning the structures of the economic mechanisms of the CEMA member states in sectors of great importance for developing mutual economic relations.

In view of the important role played by economic cooperation with other socialist countries that are not members of CEMA in each country's economic development, and in view of the consolidation of the positions of socialism in the world, the leading representatives of the communist and workers parties and the chiefs of government in the CEMA member states deem it necessary to develop that co-operation consistently in the future as well.

The CEMA member states will abide by their line of principle on developing economic and trade relations and scientific-technical cooperation with all countries in the world, based on mutual advantage, equality, nonintervention in domestic affairs, and the respect for international obligations assumed.

They will expand the cooperation with the developing countries, assuming they will contribute to the development of those countries' national economy and the consolidation of their economic independence and to the development of advantageous economic relations with them.

They will also be ready to develop mutually advantageous economic and trade and scientific-technical relations with the developed capitalist countries as with allother states in the world.

The conviction was confirmed that developing such relations would contribute to reinforcing the mutual understanding among nations and to international detente.

The conference attendants deem it necessary to give CEMA a bigger role in organizing the CEMA member states' cooperation and perfecting the activity of its organs and of the international economic organizations created by these countries.

The conference attendants express their firm conviction that the resolute realization of the resolutions taken will lend important impulses to the further development of their economy and reciprocal cooperation, to enhancing the respect and attractiveness of socialism all over the world, and to a further all-round consolidation of the unity of the CEMA member states, linked by their common basic class interests and the Marxist-Leninist ideology.

5885  
CSO: 2300/603

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### SELECTED CEMA STATISTICS

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 39 No 7, Jul 84 (signed to press 15 Jun 84)  
pp 603-605

[Statistical data: "CEMA in Numbers and Facts"]

[Text] The following countries are members of CEMA: In Europe: Bulgaria, Hungary, GDR, Poland, Romania, USSR, and CSSR. In Asia: Vietnam and MPR. In America: Cuba.

In 1982/83, the CEMA member countries had circa 448.2 million inhabitants.  
Of them in millions:

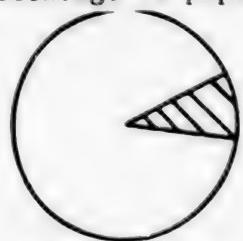
Bulgaria	8.9	Hungary	10.7	Vietnam	56.2
GDR	16.7	Cuba	9.8	MPR	1.8
Poland	36.2	Romania	22.5	USSR	270.0
CSSR	15.4				

In 1982, circa 40 million working people in the CEMA member countries were college or technical school graduates. Some 1.7 million scientists were working at research institutions and design bureaus (excluding the data for Vietnam, Cuba and Romania). College enrollment in 1982: 6.7 million; technical school enrollment: 7.8 million.

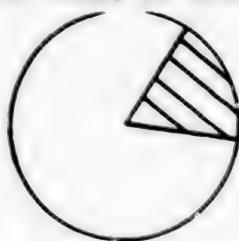
In 1982, for every 10,000 inhabitants in CEMA member countries there were circa 35 physicians and dentists. In 1983, for every 10,000 inhabitants 114 hospital beds were available.

In 1983, as many as 2.8 million dwelling units were completed in the CEMA member countries.

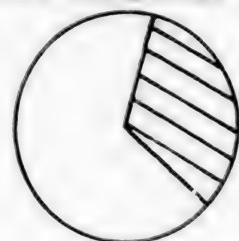
Percentage of population in terms of area and world industrial production



Population (9.6)



Area (18.7)



Industrial production (33.3)

The agricultural acreage of the CEMA member countries in 1982 came to circa 745 million hectare, 16.3 percent of the earth's agricultural acreage.

Trend in the produced national income, industrial output, foreign trade turnover (1983 to 1970, in percent)

	<u>CEMA member countries</u>	<u>Capitalist industrial</u>	<u>Developing</u>
			<u>countries</u>
Produced national income	181	142	167
Industrial output	200	137	174
Foreign trade turnover	484	425	728

Reciprocal trade with CEMA countries in 1983 had grown to 454 percent over 1970.

In 1983, the GDR's foreign trade turnover came to a total of 160,423.7 million valuta mark (effective prices). With the socialist countries it came to 104,628.9 million valuta mark, including the CEMA countries at 100,303.1 million valuta mark. The foreign trade with the USSR came to 60,821.3 million valuta mark.

#### Output of selected products (proportion of percentage in world output)

Electrical energy	21.6	Petroleum production	24.3	Natural gas	37.2
Coal mining	32.0	Steel	32.2	Mineral ferti-	
Potash fertilizer (K <sub>2</sub> O)	46.8*	Sulphuric acid	27.9	lizer	32.5*
Potatoes	52.6	Cement	22.0	Grain/Legumes	17.7
		Milk	27.5	Meat	18.6

\*1982

#### Industrial output of the CEMA countries in important products (CEMA member countries in toto)

<u>Product</u>	<u>Unit</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1983</u>
Electrical energy	billion kWh	988	1,879
Petroleum	million tons	369	630
Natural gas	million m <sup>3</sup>	220	560
Coal mining	million tons (as fuel)	731	843
Steel	million tons	156	210
Mineral fertilizer (effective substances)	million tons	20.5	43
Sulphuric acid	million tons	81.1	31.5
Cement	million tons	137	193.8
Cellulose	million tons	5.8	7.8

**Per capita electrical energy production (in kWh)**

	<u>1970</u>	<u>1983</u>
CEMA member countries in toto	2,847	4,746
of which		
Bulgaria	2,298	4,770
Hungary	1,408	2,404
Vietnam		73
GDR	3,966	6,284
Cuba	572	1,169
MPR	439	944
Poland	1,984	3,440
Romania	1,733	3,115
USSR	3,052	5,197
CSSR	3,151	4,968

**Proportion of specialized production in GDR exports to the CEMA countries in 1983  
(in percent)**

CEMA member countries in toto	43.1
of which	
USSR	53.6
CSSR	31.0
Bulgaria	30.6
Romania	27.9
Hungary	27.3
Poland	18.0

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

JULY 1984 EINHEIT: SUMMARIES OF MAJOR ARTICLES

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 39 No 7, Jul 84 (signed to press 15 Jun 84)  
pp 578, 670

[Summary of article by Eberhard Aurich, member of the SED Central Committee  
and first secretary of the FDJ Central Council; pp 606-612]

[Text] The FDJ in the 35th Year of the GDR

The young generation's love, loyalty and deeds belong to its socialist fatherland--the GDR. That was impressively shown at the National Youth Festival. While getting set for it, the socialist youth association accomplished much in all public domains. More than ever the realization is shaping up that each and everyone, by word and deed, bears a high personal responsibility for the strengthening of socialism and, hence, for the safeguarding of peace. The chief task of the FDJ, in accordance with its 10th SED Congress mission, remains to help all young people to appropriate the communist meaning of life.

[Summary of article by Dr Siegfried Kipp, general director of the VEB tire combine, Fuerstenwalde; pp 613-618]

[Text] Science and Technology as Youth's Proving Ground

Assigning ambitious tasks is most appropriate for challenging the knowledge and skill of the young people and developing their dedication and will to learn. The general director presents experiences on how state management--closely cooperating with the FDJ--draws the young people into the Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow and the innovator movement, assigns tasks from the science and technology plan to each youth brigade, nurtures the inventors' contest, forms youth research collectives for solving priority tasks, and involves young people in the construction of means of rationalization.

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Helmut Koziolek, member of the SED Central Committee, director of the Central Institute for Socialist Economic Management, SED Central Committee, chairman of the Council for Scientific Economic Research, member of the Academy of Sciences, GDR, and member of the EINHEIT editorial board; and Prof Dr Juergen Kuczynski, member of the Academy of Sciences, GDR, and corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences, USSR; pp 619-626]

[Text] On the Role of Productivity and Science Development in History

A historic survey exemplifies the unique role Marx attributes to the productive forces in the history of mankind and the decisive caesuras in the process of their development by the creation of the surplus product and the development of large-scale industry. The ever closer linkage between the natural sciences, technology and industry is demonstrated, and the role of the social sciences, especially of economics, is dealt with. Inferences are drawn for our society from the differences in productivity and science development in capitalism and socialism.

[Summary article by Prof Dr Fritz Haberland, department chief in the Central Institute for Socialist Economic Management, SED Central Committee, and Rudi Rosenkranz, general director of the VEB TEXTIMA Combine in Karl-Marx-Stadt, pp 627-632. A full translation of this article is published in this report]

[Text] Production of Rationalization Means--Important Efficiency Factor

The achievements in the production of rationalization means in the combines demonstrate what efficiency reserves can be tapped when everywhere the measures are responsibly being met that our economic strategy has set for this sector. By the example of the VEB Textima Combine it is being demonstrated how through a good organization and the use of skilled designers, technologists and specialists the production of rationalization means can become a factor that determines the tempo for the entire reproduction process.

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Olaf Groehler, chief of the science sector German History 1917-1945 at the Central Institute for History, Academy of Sciences, GDR; and Dr Klaus Drobisch, staff member of the same institute; pp 633-639. A full translation of this article is published in this report]

[Text] 20 July 1944

The attempt by Stauffenberg and his companions to eliminate the fascist dictatorship and end to war was an antifascist act in line with the vital interests of the people and the immediate requirements of the resistance struggle. Their act placed them outside the majority of the German monopoly bourgeoisie sustaining the fascist dictatorship. It is part of the tragedy of these men of 20 July 1944 that they could not fully transcend the barriers and modes of thinking that prevented them from uniting with the people for overthrowing the Hitler tyranny and ending the war.

[Summary of article by Josef Czyrek, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee; pp 640-648. A full translation of this article is published in this report under "POLAND"]

[Text] 40 Years of Socialist People's Poland

Tribute is paid to the undeniable and permanent accomplishments in the 40 years of existence of people's Poland and to the struggle by the Polish communists and all true patriots for the defense, consolidation and further development of socialism in the spirit of the July Manifesto proclaimed by the Polish National Defense Committee 40 years ago, as well as to the friendly relations developing in every way in the cooperation with the USSR, the GDR and the other fraternal socialist countries. The common cause in the struggle for peace, detente and disarmament.

[Summary of article by Gerald Moeckel, graduate political scientist, sector chief in the ministry for foreign affairs, GDR; pp 649-654]

[Text] Nicaragua--An Enclave of Progress in Central America

The Sandinista people's revolution, anti-imperialist and democratic in character, that began 5 years ago with the overthrow of the Somoza dictatorship led to decisive political and socio-economic changes in Nicaragua. It placed the well-being of the plain people on its banners. The escalation of the U.S. interventionist policy, fusing with the counterrevolution, forces that young people's power to concentrate on ensuring the survival of the revolution. Simultaneously, Nicaragua is intensifying its foreign policy activities for politically settling the conflicts in Central America, wherein it can rely on worldwide solidarity.

[Summary of article by Sigmund Jaehn, colonel in the National People's Army and GDR astronaut; pp 655-660]

[Text] "Star Wars"?

Through large-scale mass manipulation the population in the capitalist countries is meant to be tuned to the peace-endangering plans by the most aggressive U.S. circles with regard to space. Seeking military superiority, they have been pushing (especially since Reagan's "space war speech") the militarization of space and accelerating the development of adventurous projects diametrically opposed to the demands of the peoples. A peaceful use of space is indicated by the many proposals from the Soviet Union which, for the sake of world peace, does not permit the military-strategic equilibrium to be touched.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

**U.S. ANTICOMMUNISM, OLYMPIC PROCEDURES ASSESSED**

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 39 No 7, Jul 84 (signed to press 15 Jun 84)  
pp 585-588]

[Article by Georg Grasnik, deputy director of the GDR Institute for International Politics and Economics: "Hymn of Hatred"]

[Text] When in May 1984 the National Olympic Committees in socialist countries, in view of the serious violation of the Olympic idea, charter and tradition continuing in the United States, found themselves compelled to state that it had destroyed the basis for their countries' athletes to take part in the 23rd Olympiad, Washington acted surprised. The anticommunist and anti-Soviet hysteria kindled in California, especially in the Olympic city of Los Angeles, was hypocritically said to be a trifle and--in the well known manner--an intrigue from a small, immaterial group without influence.

U.S. anticomunism and anti-Sovietism, virtually pathological, has had a tradition, however, especially in California. Today's boss in the White House has had a big hand in forming and fostering that. In the 1950's, notably during his 8 years as the Governor of California, Reagan's "anticomunism was poured in cement," as a publication in the FRG has found. Also as president, "the man from Southern California tenaciously has held on to the enemy image of the postwar period: the Soviet Union is the evil demon of history."<sup>2</sup> Reagan's radical enemy image became the nucleus in the policy structure of his administration, the destruction of socialism and its political doctrine.

From California, where so many multinational armaments corporations are located, they have been agitating in the 1970's most boldly for turning to confrontation in international relations. The Committee on the Present Danger, the directorate of which includes Reagan, and that is being sustained by 1,100 influential and rich money donors and 14,000 opinion molders, set the accents for this turn in its founding document: "The Soviet domination drive is the most notable threat to our nation, world peace and freedom."<sup>3</sup> Especially that Committee as well as the "Coalition for Peace through Strength," the "Republican National Committee," and some "reawakening movements" helped by a vast ideological propaganda campaign that was started by the neoconservatives made the poison of anticomunism and chauvinism seep incessantly and massively into the American public. To the "man in the street" it suggested an alleged "period of increased danger" for the United States and a "prewar situation," and he was advised finally to rise

up "against the threat to the free society from totalitarianism." The country could be saved only by turning away from detente, which presumably only benefited the communists, only by a "tough America," only by lifting the "treasonable" arms control accords with the Soviet Union, is what a capitalist political propaganda, operating through most sophisticated methods, was proclaiming.

When Reagan became president, the ideological outpourings from militant confrontation pacemakers became the main substance of U.S. policy, a veritable network of prejudices<sup>4</sup> of anticomunism and anti-Sovietism, which would now massively support the molding and profiling of the enemy image the government was engaged in. The "father of the hydrogen bomb," E. Teller, still busy looking for new weapons of mass annihilation, helped further develop the enemy image by much quoted schizophrenic warnings of an "impending decline of the United States triggered either by the Russians or by the nuclear stop movement or by both of them together."<sup>5</sup>

Reagan himself, the Pentagon and the big mass media prepared for the Olympic Games in their own fashion by intoning a hymn of anticomunist hatred, panegyrizing a limited or protracted nuclear war, a "star war," playing the continuum by chords on warning, decapitation or preventive strikes. As is well known, the president, in maligning the countries of socialism as the "center of evil in the world," pretends to the messianic conclusion the United States, the "chosen country," should have to throw communism on the "ash heap of history." A host of journalists would disseminate Reagan's horror vision that America is engaged "in a downright cosmogonic end-struggle against the powers of communist darkness."<sup>6</sup> Yet the man in the White House could even further escalate his hatred. To justify his running amuck into more and more new rounds of the arms race in all sorts of weapons systems and his drive for military superiority as the foundation for U.S. claims to world domination, he then proclaimed a "crusade for freedom."

Terrified, an FRG journalist expressed her impressions during a trip through the United States in 1982 by saying: "Never was there so much talk about war and so little about peace as under this administration."<sup>7</sup>

A realistic and expert American, the former U.S. diplomat George F. Kennan, described the U.S. atmosphere as a consequence of the "devastating militarization of public opinion on the East-West relationship," of a "systematic denigration of another great people and its government, all too often engaged in, a denigration which, unless it is stopped soon, will indeed make war unavoidable by making it appear unavoidable."<sup>8</sup> Many people, shocked time and time again by dramatically staged eventualities of a "communist attack" or, in radio or television plays, by "flash reports on a nuclear attack from the Russians," become victims of "representative" opinion polls in seeing war ultimately as merely an "alternative for communist enslavement."

The consequences of this wave of hatred against socialism and the peoples in the socialist countries have also been demonstrated by the inscription "kill the Russians" on the campaign buttons worn on many lapels. They more and more reveal themselves in assaults, carried out by extremist organizations of the Right on Soviet diplomats, trade representatives and journalists. Eighth heavy bombing and pistol firing attempts have been undertaken in the last 5 years

against diplomatic representations of the USSR in the United States. In the first half of 1983, circa 360 provocations were launched. USSR representatives "must feel at times like unprotected free game there," STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG wrote on 17 April 1984. "Near them rocks are flying, windows are shattered and explosives are bursting; they are spat at and mobbed, beaten and even shot at, without U.S. authorities as a rule pulling themselves together for taking on more than the role of an idle observer."

Anticommunist conspiratorial get-togethers in U.S. cities are staged regularly by rightist radical, fascist or neoconservative organizations at anniversaries of frustrated counterrevolutionary assaults against socialist states, ending with the burning of flags and choruses intoning "death to communism." In the "prewar situation" atmosphere Washington has kindled, the notorious Ku Klux Klan is candidly being inspired for new crimes. Its following is increasingly organizing in paramilitary formations. Its leaders are joining the chauvinistic hymn of hatred Washington has sounded and say it is a historic distinction of the Klan to have "preserved America in the last 100 years from becoming communist."<sup>9</sup> Blacks and Russians, communists and liberals are considered mortal enemies. For 1981 and 1982 the FBI recorded "an increase of 450 percent of incidents in which the Klan was involved."<sup>10</sup> In mid-April 1984, nine Klan members, who were also members of the American Nazi party, were acquitted of the charge of murder in a demonstrative manner. They had, in a firefight in 1979 against an anti-racist demonstration in Greensboro, North Carolina, murdered five people and injured seven.<sup>11</sup>

For anti-democratic and reactionary centers and organizations, the 23rd Olympic Games in Los Angeles became a splendid occasion for unleashing a veritable orgy of anticommunism and anti-Sovietism. The desire for top athletic honors by athletes from socialist countries was maligned, in the jargon those forces use, as a vicious design by the communists to "snatch" medals from the Americans, and their appearance as messengers of peace and international understanding, as a sinister attempt to "throw a network of communist agents over the chosen land," to involve it sooner or later in the "communist world conspiracy." That was exactly what the FBI needed to put up and train a special team to shadow and spy on athletes from socialist states. As many as 165 legal, officially registered anticommunist organizations used this anticommunist boom to set up a "coalition for banning the USSR's participation in the Olympiad." California was the ideal terrain for it. "Here we have no lack of anticommunism," Kenneth Reich of the LOS ANGELES TIMES confirmed. No wonder. California, after all, rates as a "bulwark of the Reagan conservatism" and as a bastion of rightist extremist and exile organizations alike. Those professional anticommunists of the coalition for banning neither lack money nor propaganda opportunities in the mass media. For "acts of violence against Soviet athletes and their camp-followers" they announced<sup>13</sup> there would hardly be a more favorable feeding ground than the city of Los Angeles where, according to police reports, 400 gangs are loose and six murders per day are the norm.

Official America poured oil into the fire by announcing that the attendance of athletes from socialist countries would endanger the security of the United States. The California parliament adopted the unanimous resolution to demand the banning of Soviet athletes from the Olympic Games. The Washington administration refused entry to the Soviet Olympia attache. The president's former security

advisor, now the secretary of the interior, Clark, even suggested to the gang leaders of the "New Right" to increase the pressure on passing anti-Soviet sanctions.

The anticommunist hysteria brought to the boiling point in the United States, especially in California, induced B. Jenkins, expert on terrorism at the Rand Corporation in Santa Monica, to say he considered the concern about the security for athletes from socialist countries justified. They had become the target of threats and assaults.

The initiators of the confrontation strategy and their rightist extremist retinue hence redesignated those rings of the Olympiad, the symbol of peaceful ties among continents, into a target for anticommunist shooting practice. They poisoned the Olympic Games, this festival of peaceful contests of the athletic youth of the world, by a hysteria of anticommunist hatred for the peoples. They carried out a brutal assaults on the Olympic contests, afraid of outstanding achievements by athletes from socialist countries, which are incompatible with the pathological superiority drive and adventurous confrontation course of U.S. imperialism. The sovereign decision made by our National Olympic Committee is explained by our attitude of principle, relying on the essence of socialism, toward the Olympic idea, which is committed to peace and the well-being of the peoples and of each individual. We shall turn back any assault on the humanistic foundations of the Olympic movement. Our country will always hold the Olympic idea in honor and continue to support with energy the Olympic movement in the spirit of international understanding and peace.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Michael Naumann, "Amerika liegt in Kalifornien, wo Reagans Macht herkommt" [America Lies in California, Where Reagan's Power Comes from], Reinbek, 1983, p 83.
2. Ibid., p 61.
3. "Common Sense and the Common Danger--A Policy Statement," Washington, 1976, p 4.
4. DAS PARLAMENT ("Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte supplement"), Bonn, 11 December 1982, p 42.
5. THE OBSERVER, London, 27 March 1983.
6. DIE ZEIT, Hamburg, 8 January 1982, p 2.
7. Ibid., 30 April 1982, p 1.
8. BOERSENBLATT, Frankfurt/Main, 12 October 1982, p 2286.
9. ZEIT-MAGAZIN, Hamburg, 9 September 1983, p 18.
10. Ibid. p 20.

11. Cf. Waldemar Damp, "What Role Does the Ku Klux Klan Play?" EINHEIT, no 2, 1981, p 200.
12. DER SPIEGEL, Hamburg, 21 May 1984, p 70.
13. Ibid., 14 May 1984, p 126.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

RATIONALIZATION MEANS PRODUCTION DETAILED, EXEMPLIFIED

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[Article by Prof Dr Fritz Haberland, department head at the Central Institute for Socialist Economic Management of the SED Central Committee, and Rudi Rosenkranz, general director of the VEB TEXTIMA Combine in Karl-Marx-Stadt: "Production of Rationalization Means--Important Efficiency Factor"]

[Text] An extraordinary rank is assumed in our party's economic strategy by all-inclusive socialist rationalization as one of the most important ways to increase our economic efficiency.<sup>1</sup> The combines bear a great responsibility for it in making successful headway there by using all their own sources. The task assigned by our party even a decade ago, of building up and further extending within the enterprises and combines their own efficient capacities for producing specific rationalization means, has been an economic strategy decision taken wholly in that sense. That has placed economic units in a situation, with increasing effectiveness, where they can, out of their own capacity, rapidly implement in their production R&D data and suggestions from innovators and rationalizers through specific rationalization solutions. This approach in rapidly introducing new products, procedures and technologies also is in line with international experiences.

Solid Basis--Noteworthy Results

Thanks to the initiative, creativeness and inventiveness of the designers, technologists, specialists and craftsmen with "golden hands" that are engaged in rationalization means production, noted achievements have already been made in the implementation of this task: The rationalization means production of the combines and their enterprises achieved growth rates in recent years that clearly exceed those of overall production. The rationalization means production in the sector of the industrial ministries rose in comparison with previous years by 23.2 percent (in the year of 1981), by 17.6 percent (in the year of 1982)<sup>2</sup> and by 22.6 percent (in the year of 1983).<sup>3</sup> In 1983, our economy produced out of its own capacity branch-specific rationalization means at a clip of M 6 billion. That allowed industry to take care of 23 percent of the investments in equipment.<sup>4</sup> Rationalization means production had an important share in that in the first half of the current five-year plan 560,000 jobs could be set up or reorganized. For nearly one million workers the working conditions have thus

been improved and made more substantial and effective. With it, hard working conditions were eliminated for 69,000 working people.<sup>5</sup> More still is expected of rationalization means production in the years ahead. By extending the results achieved since 1981, it is expected to contribute importantly to the cut-back in 2,854 billion working hours projected for the economy up to 1985.<sup>6</sup> That would be 71.5 percent more than in the 1976-1980 period.

The advances made persuasively express that the 71,500 skilled workers engaged in rationalization means production in the combines and enterprises have a significant share by what they do in the high-speed improvement of labor productivity and efficiency. The valuable experience they have acquired in this specific activity in the course of time is all the more substantial now, when these working people can rely on an efficient technical production base. Through integrating the mental and material capacities combined in this sector with the combines' reproduction process, the level of procedures and technologies could be raised more efficiently and faster than before, new products, procedures and technologies could be accomplished more rapidly, and higher production volumes could be attained more quickly. Already the results thus far in the solution for such urgent economic tasks as increased consumer goods production, a greater use of domestic raw materials, a higher degree of production refining and the conversion to new energy sources indicate that attaining the goals in terms of our economic strategy is not conceivable without the accomplishments of the combines' rationalization means production.

The experiences and results of the VEB TEXTIMA Combine in Karl-Marx-Stadt vividly support such economic assessments. Since 1981, the branch-specific rationalization means production out of its own capacity has been raised there by circa 20 percent annually; furthermore, rationalization means were made available to combines in other branches or territorial facilities. Through the sector's achievements in introducing progressive procedures and technologies and the latest production principles in its own combine, circa M 4.7 million in prime costs were saved in 1983 and 467,000 working hours were gained. That nearly doubles the results of 1980. In 1984, the plan calls for a 35-percent increase in the combine-specific rationalization means production. The prerequisites for a high and stable performance and efficiency development in this combine, good as they already are, will thereby be still considerably improved. Many other combines in no way lag behind such a positive development. It was announced at the eighth Central Committee session that not a few combines and enterprises, "in taking their clues from the seventh Central Committee session, have assigned themselves the task to expand their own rationalization means production considerably."<sup>7</sup>

Now the combines command a solid basis for a new rationalization thrust--in response to the possibilities pointed out in the seventh and eighth Central Committee sessions. Through more closely linking rationalization with the introduction of new technologies, it becomes possible to raise the labor productivity through further improving the working people's working and living conditions and thereby attract the working people to shift labor, rationalization means production and consumer goods production.

Wholly in that sense the management of the TEXTIMA Combine orients its own rationalization means production to such technologies. It sees to rationalizing measuring and testing processes and to organizing its own production of quality-controlling supplies. The spectrum of the combine's own rationalization means production furthermore includes the development and production of special machinery and equipment with which the production of household and industrial sewing machines can be raised and of special machines and automats needed for the manufacture of bicycles and other consumer commodities. Included also are various achievements that make possible a faster and more comprehensive use of robot and operational techniques and of peripheral items.

For the sake of optimum production refining, rationalization means production increasingly helps in equipping the combine's products with microelectronics developed out of its own capacity. By 1985, some 80 percent of all new and further developed products will be equipped with modern electronics and microelectronics.

The outcome of all these various changes is unequivocal: The combine-specific rationalization means production has vastly helped accelerate the combine's intensively expanded reproduction cycle and heighten the flexibility and reactivity to new scientific-technical data and changing market conditions.

#### Priorities for Further Efforts

An analysis of the results in rationalization means production and of the demands objectively implied in the implementation of the new phase of the economic strategy clearly shows what the priorities are that determine the tempo and level of rationalization means production: "That is primarily a good scientific-technical lead for rationalization means production. That further includes concentrating on the production of highly productive, combine-specific equipment aiming at the rationalization throughout of complex technological processes, and this by means of using the available machinery, in terms of being modernized, as well as a broad application of the latest technical achievements such as robot technology and microelectronics."<sup>8</sup>

Experiences in the VEB TEXTIMA Combine and in other combines indicate some major levers for further raising, in line with this orientation, the performance capacity of rationalization means production quantitatively and, above all, qualitatively.

First: As a priority we must solve the task, explained at the seventh Central Committee session, to strengthen rationalization means production by assigning experienced designers, technologists, project planners and flexibly assignable specialists. The assignment of specialists becomes increasingly more compelling also in electronics and microelectronics, performance electronics, computer and control technology and information techniques. Especially through their help, the rationalization means production thus far still too much based on mechanics must be oriented to the use of electronics, microelectronics and performance electronics. Experiential values of some combines in the metal working industry indicate that, for the sake of high efficiency in rationalization means production, at least one designer is needed for every eight specialists. A 1:25 ratio is desirable in combining technologists with specialists. At TEXTIMA, circa one-fourth of the designers and technologists engage in rationalization means production.

Combines that do not yet have such a good rationalization means production base have to make greater efforts to recruit experienced R&D designers and technologists and young college and technical school graduates for such activities. Many who like to "tinker" will find a field here in which they can prove themselves and can come up with achievements high in public appreciation. Combine and enterprise management would be well advised to see to it that the young graduates can test their capacities against important tasks and are spurred into outstanding and patentable achievements in rationalization means production. Experiences of success stemming from their own skill and efforts are exceedingly important for the young cadres' further development, their attitude toward work and their motivation; they stimulate the performance growth throughout the entire collective.

Fast and good results can be achieved by the general directors' consistently and emphatically addressing rationalization means production in their management activity and charging the science and technology sector, according to plan, with elaborating the design and technological documentation for rationalization means production. Here it is important to replicate tested design and technological solutions of their own combine and of other economic units, this being an important source, after all, for making the construction potential more efficient.

It has been found useful in many combines to develop centralized rationalization means production in a separate sector or enterprise, working on the basis of the plan in accordance with the economic cost accounting principles. That presupposes that the requisite capacities for planning, economizing, material procurement, design, technology and project planning and the production plants needed for it are set up or expanded. Evidence shows that the productivity in such central enterprises is three to four times as high as in the decentralized enterprise departments.<sup>9</sup>

At TEXTIMA such a procedure has paid off. In the most important enterprises there rationalization means production departments exist doing most of that work. A central special machinery construction produces circa one-third of what is needed. It engages in active publicity and is preparing a rationalization means catalogue made available to the enterprises in the combine as well as to others. In this fashion it contributes, not insignificantly, to economizing the rationalization means production.

Also in the machine tool and processing machinery construction combines one has done well with setting up a centralized rationalization means production enterprise, combining it with smaller specialized capacities in the various combine enterprises. It is important to make a special point of that because, after all, the various combine enterprises have thereby not been relieved of their responsibility to produce rationalization means for their own special production.

Second: Production renovation includes products, procedures and technologies as well as the technical production base itself. The initiating factor of crucial importance for it is a highly creative R&D level. A rapid transfer into production and high production figures in the first series already greatly depend on how well one succeeds in focusing all specific requirements in the

sectors involved on the innovation process. Regardless of what may ever be subordinate to something else, the processing and rationalization means production capacities, those of maintenance and of the major mechanical ones have to be coordinated according to plan. "In particular, machine tool and appliance construction and all those capacities such as the workshops for prototype production, testing fields, experimental departments, reliability laboratories, techniques and pilot plants must be expanded on a priority basis and their efficiency must be raised. This way we must succeed in correlating the capacities for our own rationalization means production with those of R&D, so that a smooth and dovetailed collaboration speeds up the innovation process."<sup>10</sup>

Some combines have had good experiences in applying ADP projects to the complex planning, balancing and operational production management of rationalization means production. That makes sure available capacities are used optimally, that no machine capacity temporarily free remains unused. This is a basic concern that is also served by the combination and unified management of the processing and the rationalization means production capacities.

To gain a better control over the "seam" between research and production, a "major production preparation schedule" increasingly turns out to be a practicable solution in the combines. It contains all the performance required from R&D, from processing and rationalization means production, from maintenance and major mechanics, shows how they are all correlated substantively and in time, and who has the responsibility for implementing all the projects.

Third: It is of an importance of principle for high efficiency in rationalization means production that thoroughly planned tasks are assigned in good time and that their priorities and sequences are set down. Basic documents that make preparing such decisions on rationalization means production possible are the combine's refinement conceptions, oriented to needs and to efficiency, which are closely tied up with its market strategy, as well as the commodity, procedural and technology development conceptions derived from them, the capacity balance and, in particular, the science and technology plan. Maximum economic effects and social benefits are attained in those combines that approach the preparation of the pertinent tasks with the same care and thoroughness as those in R&D. They are using for it rationally structured developmental missions containing unequivocal economic goals (costs and benefits), a precise technical requirement and concrete demands for improving the working conditions for the working people in the applicants' enterprise.

Everywhere one must accept for a fact that the latest scientific-technical progress data are used in the rationalization means for maximum production refining. That makes the preparation of requirements for rationalization means a demanding scientific effort. For instance, it is a matter of integrating in special machinery and equipment to be designed the most efficient micro-electronic and performance electronic solutions with the machines and installations that are functioning in the production process, modernizing them by means of such solutions. In modernizing the capital assets, the most important considerations are that

--the capacity of any given machine is enhanced by being equipped, e.g., with microelectronic controls or by creating typical solutions for coupling a machine with a robot;

--the disposal and degree of automation in the technology be enhanced so that multi-machine operation and three-shift operations throughout can be expanded; --the operations of machines and equipment can be prolonged; and --flexible automated production processes can be undertaken.

All combines ought to make still greater efforts to combine the different measures in such a way that it becomes more possible to rationalize complex technical processes throughout.

Fourth: Achievements in combine-specific rationalization means production greatly depend on that ancillary supplies from the competent machine building and electrical engineering and electronics combines arrive as scheduled and proper as to assortments, that they are on a high scientific-technical level and excel by being of stable quality. That applies particularly to controls, motors, hydraulic, measuring, testing and monitoring equipment as to standardized construction parts, components and standard parts, but also to the delivery of important elements from central production organized in the sectors of industry, construction, transportation and telecommunications.

Other possibilities for a more rational rationalization means production can come from improved labor cooperation: by assigning managerial functions for certain groups of rationalization means to particular combines in one sector, by making better use of the advantages of centralized data banks and documentations, for example for building special industrial robots, and by exhausting other territorial opportunities.

Fifth: Finally it becomes a matter of rationalizing the processing and rationalization means production itself to attain a smooth labor flow and a high capacity use and greatly improve the cost/benefit ratio. A lathe operator, e.g., works more efficiently when he is working on several tasks at one and the same time, so he can sensibly combine his operations and can, especially, combine manual and machine operations in a rational fashion. That of course calls for an adequate design lead. It especially determines the labor rhythm in production to a large extent.

Experience has shown that certainly not only for mass production but also in the rationalization means production plants, one can use the NC [expansion unknown] technique. There too one finds repeatable parts that can well and most efficiently be operated by that technique in combination with suitable industrial robots. The benefit is all the greater, the more one lets oneself be guided even during the design phase by the basic concern for standardization and streamlining, by the prefab principle and proven secondary use solutions. The main thing is in rationalization means production, however, to use all opportunities to modernize installations and equipment and organize the work more rationally, whereby one sets the premises to proceed toward multi-shift operations.

The requirements placed on the management, planning and organization of one's own rationalization means production grow considerably with the expansion of this sector and the increasing demands, qualitative and quantitative. When a combine now has to work on 3,000 orders per year, at such a scope and variety of tasks that often have to be solved at one and the same time the use of modern computer technology for capacity planning, operational production direction and controls is indispensable.

Nor can combines do without performance comparisons and experience exchange to raise the management of rationalization means production onto a higher level. A good basis for that are parameters and questions such as: How much working time is saved per M 10,000 for rationalization means produced? What is the reduction in prime costs caused by those who are working in rationalization means production? What is the reduction in prime costs per M 10,000 in means of rationalization produced?

That emphatically points the working people in rationalization means production to a highest possible use-value at minimum expenditures. Novel questions should also be included more and more. An answer to the question to what extent one has succeeded in exporting rationalization solutions permits significant inferences to be drawn on how far the quality of one's own performance can stand up to international top standards. One should examine how rationalization means production can boost the export of non-material achievements and thereby boost efficiency. For example, some combines making outer wear clothing exported technological documents on the main process together with a patterning machine produced in their own rationalization means production. Design and technological documents for constructing and using one's own rationalization means also are being offered and find buyers.

Thus the experiences in the VEB TEXTIMA Combine and in many other combines in our economy underscore that rationalization means production has an increasing impact on lending an ever more comprehensive character to intensification.

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1. Cf. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED" [SED Central Committee Report to the 10th SED Congress], Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, pp 55-56.
2. Cf. "Statistisches Jahrbuch der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik 1983," Staatsverlag der DDR, Berlin, 1983, p 150.
3. Cf. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 19 January 1984, p 3.
4. Cf. Guenter Mittag, "Nach neuen Maßstäben die Intensivierung umfassend organisieren" [Comprehensive Organization of Intensification by New Criteria], Dietz publishing house, Berlin, Berlin, 1984, p 39.
5. Cf. Guenter Mittag, "Ökonomische Strategie der Partei--klares Konzept für weiteres Wachstum" [The Party's Economic Strategy--A Clear Concept for Further Growth], Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1983, pp 83-84.
6. Cf. Comrade Erich Honecker, op. cit., p 57.
7. Comrade Kurt Hager, "Aus dem Bericht des Politbüros an die 8. Tagung des ZK der SED" [From the Politburo Report to the Eighth SED Central Committee Session], Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1984, p 33.
8. Ibid., p 34.

9. Cf. "Stirring Ideas Are Wanted," TECHNISCHE GEMEINSCHAFT, 1983, No 6, p 4.
10. Hermann Poeschel, "Erhoehung der oekonomischen Wirksamkeit von Wissenschaft und Technik" [Enhancing the Economic Effectiveness of Science and Technology], Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1984, p 45.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

HITLER ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT REVIEWED, INTERPRETED

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[Article by Prof Dr Olaf Groehler, head of the department of German History, 1917-1945, of the Central Institute for History of the GDR Academy of Sciences, and Klaus Drobisch, academic associate at the Central Institute for History of the GDR Academy of Sciences: "20 July 1944"]

[Text] During a briefing on 20 July 1944 at noon, an explosive charge was detonated at Hitler's headquarters near Rastenburg--the so-called Wolfsschanze (Wolf's Lair). Several high officers were killed, others--including Hitler--were wounded. Colonel Count Claus Schenk von Stauffenberg, attending the briefing as the commander of the Reserve Army, who had set off the explosive hidden in his briefcase, could not convince himself whether Hitler had been killed by the assault. Right after the explosion he managed to get out of the Wolfsschanze and fly back to Berlin. Relying mainly on military obedience and on the effect of the news of Hitler's death--which however, would soon prove false-- he issued increasingly more urgent orders to military command posts they should seize all Nazi and SS leaders in all German regions and the annexed and occupied countries and have the military assume executive power. In Paris and Vienna, they by and large obeyed those orders. In Berlin, the broadcast building and some other facilities were occupied briefly; yet there, as in other cities, even officers more or less informed about the impending act hesitated to break with the Hitler regime merely in response to teletype messages.

First it seemed to the clique around Hitler, as they admitted themselves, that "the ground under their feet was giving way." Stirred up, they used their governmental tools to cope with the situation that had arisen. In the afternoon already, Hitler's headquarters issued counter-orders, the radio reported that Hitler had survived. Officers subservient to Hitler seized Stauffenberg and his confidants. Still that night Stauffenberg and his closest comrades--Lt Col Werner von Haeften, Col Albrecht Mertz von Quirnheim Esquire, and Gen Friedrich Olbricht--were "summarily" shot in the yard of Army Headquarters.

Seeking a Way Out of the Crisis

When that happened, World War II unleashed by fascist German imperialism had already lasted 1,785 days. In the course of it, vast areas in Europe, especially

in Poland and the Soviet Union, had been devastated and destroyed, millions of people had fallen on the battlefields, starved in towns and villages, gassed in fascist concentration camps, torn apart by aerial bombs, and perished from debilitation. German imperialism, for all that, was at that time farther away than ever from realizing its world domination plans for the sake of which it had shoved fascism into power in January 1933. The "lightening victories" between 1939 and 1941 had been followed by its catastrophes near Moscow in 1941/42, near Stalingrad in 1942/43 and near Kursk in 1943, that had brought about the fundamental reversal in the course of World War II for the benefit of the anti-Hitler coalition, and at Kiev in 1943/44. These defeats deciding the war had been inflicted on fascist German imperialism by the very power of socialism organized as a state the liquidation of which it had been proclaiming as its chief war target. The fascist "new order for Europe" it had sought turned out completely bankrupt. Under the impressive victories by the Soviet Army, Europe's oppressed peoples rose against the hated fascist occupation regime. When it had become increasingly clear that the heroic struggle of the Soviet people was about to terminate the fascist barbarism, the western allies in June 1944 finally began their own invasion of Normandy. Through the Red Army's large-scale Byelorussian operation in the summer of 1944, the yearned-for end of the war came within sight of the peoples in the world.

Because of the heavy military defeats, especially on the Soviet-German front, fascist German imperialism had plunged into a deep crisis. Within the German upper bourgeoisie and in high officers' circles they would engage in deliberations about the consequences that would have to be drawn from the ever more clearly threatening military catastrophe. The ruling German monopoly capital circles most closely entwined with the fascist dictatorship, concentrated particularly in the industrial group of the Reich, began to implement their strategy in the outcome of internal discussions since the fall of 1943: Carrying on total war with all means and, simultaneously, getting set for the postwar period to suffocate any hint or premise for a social transformation in Germany and salvage their power above and beyond the war. Beset with the fear that events like those in November 1918 could be repeated in Germany when the fascist regime suddenly collapsed and could this time truly lead to the establishing of the workers and farmers power, they sought to preserve their exploiter system.

One of the highest and most repugnant blood judges of the Nazi regime, Roland Freisler, in the trial of Carl Goerdeler and others on 8 September 1944, strikingly expressed the chief concern of these most reactionary and extremist circles of fascist German imperialism. He accused those on trial of political myopia and discussed the possible further perspective of a successful assassination of Hitler, terrifying to the majority of the German monopoly bourgeoisie, with reference to the events in Russia in 1917: "That alone can show anyone the line of development from Milyukov to Kerenski to Lenin as a prognosis for the development from Goerdeler to Leuschner to Bolshevism." Thereby this blood judge outlined what the Nazi gang and the high military regarded as the chief danger and why most of the German upper bourgeoisie still counted on the fascist dictatorship when the end of the war was in sight.

Because the Hitler clique could not bring the war to the desired end and secure their war booty, certain German imperialist circles sought a government change without convulsions. Combat operations in the West were to be halted and an agreement was to be sought with the western imperialist powers to be able to continue the war against the Soviet Union. Those groups were concentrated around Carl Goerdeler, who was affiliated with the Bosch and Krupp corporations, around the former ambassador Ulrich von Hassell and the Prussian finance minister Johannes Popitz.

Those who looked at the situation more realistically, represented by Col Gen Ludwick Beck, who had quit in 1938 as army chief of staff, Stauffenberg and Maj Gen Henning von Tresckow, fighting on the eastern front, came to the realization, however, that it was necessary to eliminate the Hitler clique by the use of force and that the war had to be terminated on all fronts. The more the situation intensified, the more those circles exactly pressed for action.

The fascist prosecution after 20 July 1944 makes apparent which circles and groups were involved. Most of them, it turned out, were German middle-class or--as far as the high officers involved were concerned--came from the aristocracy. In these groups, the political differences were considerable. Most clearly probably this internal contradiction was embodied in the polarity of the two personalities who more than others had put their stamp on these circles: in Goerdeler, who despite his anti-Nazi persuasion had stuck, intellectually and politically, to the positions of an authoritarian and exploitative class and sovereign state, and in Stauffenberg, who in the wake of his political and intellectual development, tended toward resolute antifascism.

In 1944, Stauffenberg, then 36 years old, was a colonel at Army Supreme Command. Although, like most younger officers in his entourage, he still had conceived of the fascist seizure of power in 1933 as the beginning of a "national revival" and found himself bound by his oath to Hitler, he was politically more farsighted. After the war had started, it is known that he deplored the cruelties and crimes in countries occupied by the fascists, yet strong impulses were needed for him finally to rebel and act. After his injury in 1943, when he lost one arm, almost the entire other hand and one eye, he came in contact with high officers who likewise had misgivings about the destiny of their country. And he met with members of the Kreisau Circle around Helmuth James Count von Moltke advocating Christian and social reformist program concepts. Those forces regarded the groups around Goerdeler and their ideas from a critical distance. They began to develop a bourgeois-democratic alternative and to free themselves gradually from the fetters of anticomunism.

Most of these circles saw themselves as an opposition within the ruling class. Their readiness to oppose and resist the Nazi dictatorship had by no means been fostered from the time they still were in their cradle, as bourgeois historians like to portray it today. The historic truth is that many of those "conspirators and traitors" in 1933 had sided with those in the class conflict who welcomed or were all for the Nazis. And although in these circles even before World War II broke out reservations and doubts showed up about certain manifestations of the Hitler dictatorship, about which they might even have expressed abhorrence, many let themselves be political affected by the "lightning victories."

This process of internal deliberations, discussions and differentiations must have been interrupted in the fall of 1943. In talks among Beck, Stauffenberg and Tresckow, over Goerdeler's objection, the demarche was agreed upon for now purposefully getting set for an assassination of Hitler and an outing of his clique. The immediate cause for becoming an active anti-Nazi opposition undoubtedly were the devastating defeats of fascist German imperialism in 1943 as well as the founding of the Free Germany National Committee and the League of German Officers in the Soviet Union. Their appearance demonstrably spurred them into action, whether they felt their example to be stimulating or in competition with their own ideas. It is worth noting that almost simultaneously with the motto of the National Committee and the German Officers League for an orderly withdrawal of the German armies behind the borders of the Reich, as a first step toward ending the war, their circles also engaged in similar considerations.

To avert the devastating consequences for the German people, that had to be anticipated for sure from a continuation of the war, the men around Stauffenberg decided to carry out their bold patriotic act. Their personal dedication was determined by their moral conscience, their reason and their sense of responsibility to the German people--as many of them confessed eyeball to eyeball with those Nazi blood judges and butchers. Through their act they broke with the genocidal doctrine of the most aggressive and adventurist forces in German imperialism. They ventured a political leap by which they placed themselves outside the decisive forces of the German monopoly bourgeoisie bolstering the fascist dictatorship.

#### The Patriotic Task

In view of the risk of survival for the German people caused by the massively destructive war policy of German imperialism, the main political task of the German resistance in the summer of 1944 was to overthrow the fascist dictatorship and end the war at once. That presupposed the struggle of all true patriots, regardless of the class or stratum they belonged to and of the political purposes or targets they would pursue after the overthrow of the dictatorship and the end of the war.

Highly diverse political and social forces in terms of ideology and class had joined the antifascist resistance during World War II. The most energetic and conscious leadership force in it, the communists always were intent on establishing a fighting coalition with all other Nazi and war adversaries by reaching consensus on the most important and immediately urgent political tasks of the day. Absolutely vital for the German people in the summer of 1944 was a broad antifascist understanding of reason, for which the way had already been paved, initiated by the KPD, through the Free Germany movement in 1943. In its declaration of 1 May 1944, "We Communists and the 'Free Germany' National Committee," the Berlin KPD executive confirmed: "We communists stretch out our hands to any enemy of Hitler--and grab each hand honestly stretched out to us--for a joint struggle against Hitler, the enemy of the people." Members of the KPD executive spoke in that sense with the envoys from the Stauffenberg circle. They accepted Stauffenberg's offer to continue the talks at an estate in Mecklenburg. Goerdeler, on the other hand, with whom Leipzig communists attempted to talk, refused any contact with them.

The actions taken by Stauffenberg and his companions must be gaged against the concrete requirements of the antifascist resistance struggle determining the vital interests of the German people; against it the fact must be gaged that they, within their circles, resolved to become the crucial forces for a forcible ousting of Hitler and his clique, to end the war on all fronts and make peace possible.

Anticommunist resentment and class prejudice and anti-Soviet bias proved tough barriers to their thoughts and actions, which many of them could not overcome. What some of them, however, especially in the Stauffenberg circle, came to realize was a realism in assessing the capacity of the USSR in World War II and the insight that any policy without or even against the Soviet Union was sure to fail. Spokesmen of the reaction, questioning or denying that approach to a bourgeois Realpolitik by the Stauffenberg group, while today turning a deaf ear to any appeal for reason in the basic questions of safeguarding the peace, have no right to claiming the action of 20 July 1944 as part of their own tradition. There, in the midst of what were then the ruling circles in Germany, in the midst of war, the voice of reason in that last hour asserted itself against madness, and political realism began to carve a path for itself against the political adventurism prevailing in the majority of the German monopoly bourgeoisie.

The attempt to oust Hitler on 20 July 1944 at the Wolfsschanze was an anti-fascist act, even if most of the ones involved in it belonged to the ruling class of imperialist Germany and some of them were intent on preserving the capitalist system once Hitler and his clique were eliminated. That heroic and sacrificial act by Stauffenberg and his closest companions was a form of struggle against fascism, was a courageous beginning to put an end to the war, the blood-letting and the mass destruction; and the decisive forces of the German resistance movement could take that up and extend it in their alliance policy.

#### The Communists and 20 July 1944

The KPD was the only German party to have implacably and resolutely fought against fascism from the first hour of its birth. It bore the main burdens of the German resistance with the greatest of sacrifices. The KPD also was the only German movement to provide, through its program, the German people with a way out of the catastrophe. In spite of what bourgeois authors claim, the communists never "monopolized" the struggle against Hitler barbarism and imperialist war. Side by side with Social Democrats and other antifascists, they guarded the honor of the German people and always were a reliable partner of all anti-Nazi forces, setting no other preconditions for their fellow-combatants than the willingness to take part through their own deeds in the struggle against fascism and war.

The resistance, under communist leadership, reached its greatest breadth and effect in the country in 1943/44. The large illegal organizations, relying on thousands of industrial workers and fighting in concentration camps and penitentiaries, constituted a political factor that embodied the alternative for fascist dictatorship and imperialist war. Though their ranks were decimated, the communists carried on their antifascist struggle in undiminished determination still after 20 July 1944.

Right in the first hours after the assassination attempt, German communists and other antifascists in the country as well as in exile, took a position on it. The first comment on 20 July came on the night broadcast of the Free Germany station after 0100 hours on 21 July from Comrade Fritz Erpenbeck: "If the deed was done through the realization that the world will make peace neither with Hitler nor with his regime, and was Hitler to be hit as the representative of his regime, the one responsible for the war and the obstacle to peace, then the deed was a great patriotic act!" In the morning broadcast of 21 July, Comrade Anton Ackermann remarked: "Italy started to turn around a year ago when Mussolini was deposed by the king and arrested. No such opportunity exists in the totalitarian state of Hitler's and Himmler's. There one had to resort to the eternal and sacred right of the people to sweep away by means of force usurpers who are enemies of the people and who want to plunge the fatherland into its doom. Men who acted that way realized that any further day on which the bankrupt Nazi government remains in power is fatal for the people and the fatherland, that Hitler must be overthrown immediately and that any means for doing that is sacred. We do not know who the men were who stood up against Hitler. Yet we do not care to find out. He who fights against Hitler and wants to oust this most evil enemy of the nation deserves the active support from all honest Germans, all generals, officers and soldiers, the support from all the people. For that, we call upon the adherents to the Free Germany movement and, above all, the German working people."

In other countries as well, German communists took an unequivocal position on the events of 20 July 1944. For instance in Great Britain, in the LABOUR MONTHLY put out by R. Palme, in an article, "The Crisis in Germany," in September 1944, a German antifascist pointed out that "leading military and economic circles" had been involved in the action of 20 July 1944 who had realized that "Germany's military and economic position is hopeless" and that they, though without any contact with the people, nonetheless had acted courageously. Whatever the assailants had intended, he remarked, a successful action would have "greatly shortened the war."

The German communists in the emigration could then of course not know all the details in the objective and range of the operation. They did know it had come from high officers and members of the bourgeoisie. In a position taken on 22 July 1944, entitled "What Is To Be Done?" the comment was: "Old unionists, Social Democrats, communists, democrats, Catholics, men of the Confessional Church--they all hesitate because they have doubts about the general staff and the officers corps; they are afraid--frankly speaking--of assisting 'reactionaries.' Nor do we know the personalities in the movement against Hitler, the enemy of the people. All we know is these are forces that have started a patriotic and sacred effort with audacity. That is why we defer all personal or ideological reservations. We welcome the deed of Count von Stauffenberg and assist his comrades as best we can."

German communists also were the ones who protected those who had acted on 20 July 1944 from the brown filth claiming they had been highly exponential reactionaries. Sarcastically, Comrade Walter Ulbricht said on 21 August 1944: "As soon as the generals quit the reactionary fascist Hitler regime and play a progressive role as fighters against Hitler, Goebbels calls them reactionaries.

Any German and any group in Germany taking an active part in the overthrow of the Hitler regime acts progressively because they help liberate Germany from the Hitler regime and speed up the arrival of peace." And the Free Germany station sharply scored those "scoundrels" and "repulsive creatures" who had made millions from denouncing and betraying those who had aided the 20 July attempt.

Through a wave of all-inclusive measures of repression and draconic death sentences, the fascist regime after 20 July 1944 sought to prevent even the slightest sign of resistance. From the circles of the men of 20 July themselves, 160 to 180 people fell victim to it--110 got fascist death sentences. The Nazi myrmidons now put under so-called kinship arrest the family members--down to infants--of those who had been involved in the attempt and of well-known members of the Free Germany National Committee, even as they had done in the spring of 1944 with Rosa and Irma Thaelmann.

Confronted with its own demise, the whole thrust of terror in the ruling Nazi clique now mainly went against the KPD, which they kept regarding as their chief enemy. On 14 August 1944 Hitler and Himmler decided to have Ernst Thaelmann murdered and set down measures for a still more brutal persecution especially of communists, Social Democrats and unionists. With the aim of depriving the German people of any opportunity to get rid of its worst enemies, the Hitler gang, and take its destiny into its own hands, another series of large-scale murders was unleashed. The regime would not make the same mistake that had been made in 1918, the Gestapo boss told Freya Countess von Moltke. It would not let its enemies stay alive.

#### In Conformity With the Most Important Requirement of Their Time

Chroniclers are pointing to the indecisiveness and waffling by some officers in Stauffenberg's entourage, who would only act after Hitler's death was confirmed. That may well be so. A more profound reason, however, for the tragedy of the men of 20 July was that they could not completely surmount the barriers and modes of thought that prevented them from uniting with the people for overthrowing the Hitler tyranny and ending the war. That does not mitigate our high regard for their audacious act. What with all class limitations and barriers--when it came to the physical survival of the German people, the men of 20 July 1944, Stauffenberg and his confidants in the lead, pressing for action, found themselves in conformity with the most important requirement of their time.

The fascist fury of war had plunged the peoples into irremediable death and destruction and exacted especially from the Soviet people the greatest sacrifices in the struggle against fascism. If the war had ended in the summer of 1944, it would have spared the lives of millions more. Hundreds of thousands of Soviet families had kept their fathers or their sons, equally many Europeans would not have become the victims of fascism eventually running amuck, and innumerable irreplaceable values created by human hands would have been saved from destruction. The German people, led into the war catastrophe by German imperialism, had to pay a high price. Nearly two thirds of its irreplaceable losses in human lives in World War II came after 20 July 1944. Till June 1944,

1 1/2 million German soldiers had been killed in battle; up to the first day of peace in Europe, another 2 1/2 million soldiers had to lose their lives senselessly, 8,650 during every day of war, 360 in every hour that this criminal war kept going; six in every minute from 20 July 1944 until 8 May 1945. More than 60 percent of all wartime destructions in Germany occurred in the time after 20 July 1944. That amounts to nearly 1 1/2 million apartments or far more than 350,000 apartment houses that were reduced to rubble by bombs in the last months of the war. Not until after 20 July 1944 did Dresden and Dessau, Darmstadt and Potsdam, Freiburg and Heilbronn, Wuerzburg and Magdeburg, Plauen and Chemnitz perish in the fire of devastating carpet bombing.

For nearly 40 years bourgeois historians and politicians have attempted to reduce the antifascist resistance to 20 July 1944. While thereby deliberately ignoring the great historic role and exemplary heroism of the communists in the struggle against fascist terrorist rule and the range of the antifascist resistance struggle, they also distort the legacy of the men of 20 July 1944: they seek to erase from memory the goals exacted by the men of 20 July 1944. The point is that their legacy as well as that of the antifascist resistance as a whole handed to our present time can only be that all men, all social forces that sincerely want peace--regardless of all political, social and ideological differences--must, in the basic issue of our time, the struggle for peace, in good time lend their hand to a coalition of reason and resolutely work together against the perils invoked by the most aggressive imperialist circles to the survival of humanity.

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WRITER TALKS ABOUT POLITICAL OPPOSITION

Budapest KRITIKA in Hungarian Jun 84 pp 8-10

/Interview with Gyula Fekete by Istvan Szerdahelyi: "Double Commitment: Conversation With Gyula Fekete"; date and place not specified/

/Text/ /Question/ You are above all a political writer who, over and beyond literary works, has attracted national attention as a commentator on public affairs. Today in Hungary what is the fate of someone who is not a party member?

/Answer/ A writer writes his membership card himself; to what extent he is going to be political depends on his internal indication. During the war, I thought that politics was on an equal footing with great human experiences, with the experience of love and reaching one's majority, and with a clear conscience I am able to accept it as a determining literary experience. Of course, I am not thinking here of politics in the everyday sense but simply of how I am conscious of the greatest concerns of mankind, our country, our nation, our people, and communities which are born and grow. There is the writer who assumes responsibility for these communities, and there is the writer who does not feel this responsibility. But a fundamental question for the one who does assume it is how to filter, distill and transfer it into literature. As far as I am concerned, I am not able--and I do not want--to separate the literary work and the--as it is called--public commentary. I have already explained that I am a believer in--and now a representative of--the literature of dual commitment: a literature which is committed to artistic beauty and social truth, to sentiment and reason, to the nation and mankind, to the present and the future alike.

At a Double Disadvantage

/Question/ It is possible, however, to engage in politics in various ways, and it is generally known that you often take issue with the government, with the official representatives and institutions of politics. What kinds of possibilities and life situations does this role of debate partner create for you?

/Answer/ A double disadvantage or, if you like, disregard which follows from a double commitment. If I remember correctly, I mentioned at the funeral of Gyula Sipos that rejection or a wave of the hand greets writers like us from both sides. The politician considers us to be too literary and poetic to be

taken seriously. After all, our framework is self-determining, a structure supreme and independent of politics. The literary tribunals, however, regard us as too political. Our mental formula is too severe, supreme, unbending, frequently detaching itself from the international laws of literature. We must accept this double burden, perhaps together with the dual disregard, if we are true to ourselves, and not speculate, not weigh the possibilities of conformity. I never take as a starting point the political task, concept or program of the moment, nor, on the other hand, the prevailing artistic, esthetic or critical trends. I only know how to take myself as the starting point--and from this, of course, collisions follow on both sides.

/Question/ Disregard sounds strange if I take into account that you, as deputy chairman of the Writers' Association, keep an important watch on both the literary community and cultural policy.

/Answer/ Maybe the feeling now is that the stubbornness or the pertinacity with which I have spoken my mind for decades acquires some moral capital, a certain kind of recognition. This does not mean that people or trends agree with me but rather that they assume this behavior will henceforward be characteristic of me, and it is possible to count on my standpoint as something it is worth paying attention to, because I have always given politics, and perhaps literature as well, inspirations which it has been possible to use for something.

/Question/ When you spoke about disregard and hand-waving, weren't you thinking about the fact that you don't always get a correct response to your assertions--either "yes, he's right," or "he's wrong because of such and such"--but rather the reaction is often silence or equivocation instead of a logical exchange of views, argument for argument?

/Answer/ I was thinking of that. And I don't want to overemphasize the word "disregard." In literary circles this always means being offended, and here in my case it is not a question of that. It is not my problem that critics classify me by saying that my literary standing would certainly be greater if I would only write novels and nothing else, no public commentary....

/Question/ The works in public commentary thus reduce your literary prestige?

/Answer/ More or less. Because if I look at it, I have novels which the critics have pretty well accepted, and the public even more. "The Doctor's Death" has so far seen 21 or 22 editions, and about 12 abroad. I have 5 books of over 100,000 copies each, and this is what the public wanted. I have no such concerns. I am not thinskinned, because if a person gets involved in all kinds of disputes, he stirs emotions, and in the ring you punch and you get punched, the two are inseparable.

Nor would I say that everything is a waste of breadth, that the writer is "useless." I can mention an example--but do not take this as bragging. On the basis of economic arguments and analyses, I proposed child care assistance in several places and on several occasions, and afterwards, our existing institution was mentioned repeatedly throughout the world. One or two hundred thousand children would not have been born if this were not in existence. The result here and elsewhere is evident.

But what you asked about, whether I perceive a problem there--I really do. Especially in the last 6 to 8 years they are not entering the ring. There are insolent retorts now and then, only not face to face. However, I familiarize myself with the material that I intend to discuss. I am not inexperienced at expressing my anger. My arguments hit home. At least I feel they do. After all there are few of my former debate partners who would dare to publish their old writings today. I do publish mine, however, and I have no reason to retract anything from them. It is also customary nowadays to say that I am not sufficiently skeptical about myself. If a person frequently convinces himself of something, then he sheds his skepticism, although I hold that a person is certain only up to 99 percent of the time. And so politics! It is necessary to develop a standpoint on many matters which are completely new--new in world history. We make some utterly new thing, and there is no great book from which it is possible to find out what it is we have to do today--and especially tomorrow. This desirable skepticism does not concern only me here, but rather everyone who reflects on public affairs in this country.

#### From Within or From Without?

Question But how do you feel as the government's debate partner? As the subject of national policy? Is it a good thing to be an ally in our country today, and if not, in your opinion, how should national policy be improved?

Answer I think that in recent years the fundamental situation has changed. Many believed--and possibly still believe, but not as many--that I attack from a fundamental position of opposition from the outside, because I am accustomed to expressing myself rather sharply. It is a law in public commentary that a person must express himself sharply, otherwise no one pays any attention. And since the criticism referred to government policy practices the public discussion of which was not customary, it was possible using a superficial approach to classify this as oppositionist behavior. But then time passed, and it turned out to be true that in a series of questions, if we consider the interests of socialism, I was not the "opposition," but rather those who, in contrast to me, defended an unsuitable and faulty practice. I think the consequence of this is that today at least the responsible persons no longer consider me oppositionist but rather someone who--if in his own way a sometimes unpleasant and aggressive person--criticizes from within.

Question Does this guarantee a good general mood?

Answer I've already lived a long time, yesterday I turned 62, today is my first day in my 63rd year. I know that these classifications can change according to changes in the daily political situation, nor can I now take as my starting point that I am no longer considered in the opposition but rather an ally. I will continue to speak my mind. I am happy to do that. It does yield a good general state of health, if my unaltered representation is classified as a manifestation of alliance, the criticism as criticism coming from within, but I cannot adhere to this classification.

## North Star of Socialism Picture

/Question/ But there is also the commitment which binds the person, the thinker, the writer, not to the official/semiofficial standpoints of momentary or ephemeral validity but rather to the cause of socialism.

/Answer/ In my opinion this is commitment understood in the true sense of the word. It is another question, of course, whether someone can be wrong who thinks that the cause to which he is committed must be represented the way he represents it. This risk exists, but if the person, falling in line with other individuals, strives to represent the cause, then this danger is much greater. When traveling the ocean, it is better if I look for myself to see where the North Star is, and thus calculate the direction of my journey, than if I ask someone else how he sees the skies.

/Question/ So according to this it is not you yourself that you are loyal to at any price--your own previous or current opinion--but rather there lives within you an image of socialism, and this is your North Star.

/Answer/ I am so used to the idea that the world is rapidly changing, that the conditions and circumstances are changing which we must allow for in order to develop our opinions, that what I said or represented earlier does not cross my mind. But since--it appears--I have developed a certain sense for taking into account not the rapidly obsolescent and malleable factors but rather those which are more permanent and change more slowly, it may seem for that reason that when on the basis of the day's cross-checks I advocate something, I am clinging to a much earlier standpoint of mine.

## Lack of Debate Forums

/Question/ I have already asked how, in your view, it might be possible to improve and modify our national policy. So far you haven't given an answer to this.

/Answer/ I can't easily respond to this because I really don't have a feel for national policy. What is required is that political practice consider intellectual pluralism a natural thing, that different persons, on the basis of different worlds of experience, arrive at different conceptions. And that those in politics should recognize that in the attainment of a society which does not evolve spontaneously but which is planned from the outset, it is necessary to pool all valuable intellectual forces in order for us to discover which way a road leads. There is an enormous need here for the primitive man's sense for exploring the secure or the least dangerous tracks--because each one is dangerous. For this every sort of good intellectual force ought to be employed. And while we are on the subject, there are initiatives but there are no forums where these intellectual forces could join battle and scintillate, so that out of the multiplicity, with the collaboration of the intellectual elite, something develops which could help politics to see more clearly and act with greater circumspection.

/Question/ An almost universal solution in recent times is that at the time of preparation of decisions concerning important questions, the scholarly

communities are asked for their opinions. They survey, in the most democratic way possible, the various standpoints, discuss them, summarize their recommendations, and the scholarly community called in for the decision can thus arrive at a determination.

/Answer/ I still consider this only an initiative.

/Question/ Strained relations with the churches have normalized to the extent that television can transmit live a debate between a theologian and a Marxist theoretician without sparks darting out of the TV set.

/Answer/ The difference between us is only in the judgment of the weight and significance of matters. After all, I see all this, and from time to time I myself take part in the preliminary exchanges of views mentioned. But my feeling is that all this is only an initiative, too little for a real national policy. It may be that I am now a maximalist. I don't take into account all kinds of limitations, but in my opinion what is required is that the following become a permanent natural practice: politics must call upon the diverse intellectual elite for help so that a major error is not made so that the best possible solution is found to acute, festering and urgent questions.

#### Freedom That Destroys Community

/Question/ Up until now it has only been a matter of your relationships to the "authorities." What is your opinion of the opposition?

/Answer/ I do not take the words "opposition" and "ally" very seriously, although I concede that from a political point of view they may be legal classifications. I am not able and I do not want to shy away from something merely because it is a "government-party" matter, and if I accept or represent it, then I will be classified as a "conformist," just as I cannot keep clear of something because then I will be called an "oppositionist." I judge matters according to whether I agree with them or not. I know there are the samizdat writers and the group of those who think differently. There are many kinds of things. But strictly speaking I would like it if we could make complete freedom of debate and the unimpeded encounter of all sorts of political views a custom. In order for us to build a new society, one which has never existed in world history, it is necessary, in my opinion, that every kind of extreme, even those classified as oppositionist, be able to clash on the intellectual battlefield.

It is my ideal that we progress toward such freedom in the press and everywhere. This can't be done overnight, of course. But until we achieve this, it is not compatible with my conscience that I sit in judgment on this or that coterie, that these are sinister people, they are doing something out of spite. And for this reason I do not feel it is a problem if the views of one group or another differ sharply from the official opinion. This always has a fermentative effect and can be useful for official policy. After all, that requires constant readiness to debate and is compelled to react more quickly to new phenomena, arguments and underhanded practices.

/Question/ There is also a danger in this. I could illustrate it with an example which may impress you. Some people might want to allow pornography in Hungarian movie theaters and let public taste decide whether it likes it or not, whether it is valuable or harmful. It is obvious that this freedom would result in a fashionable trend which would destroy public taste and public morals. Do you agree with this?

/Answer/ Your question doesn't surprise me. When I speak about the unobstructed encounter of ideas, I do not include in it the freedom of sordid passions. In every society--though not to an identical degree--lurk antihuman forces, from racial hatred to many other kinds of animosity. I am more or less in agreement with Tolstoy that there are also very deleterious antisocial trends. And I saw in America that the absolute nature of freedom, which does not measure how freedom can thwart and damage the rights and interests of other persons and the community, leads in the direction of anarchy, toward the mangling of society. I concluded from my American journey that Western civilization is heading toward total breakdown, and within 30 to 50 years--I won't live to see it--this will mercilessly come to pass. For the very reason that in these societies no ordering principle prevails which arranges the individual human rights so that these do not harm the freedom of others and the vital interests and necessities of the community.

/Question/ So you are calling for the open debate of established viewpoints within the constitutional framework in our country?

/Answer/ I'm well aware that there is a borderland here which is a constant matter of debate: what harms the public interest and to what extent. Yes, but there are areas in which it cannot be debated that the open conflict of ideas comes up against any kind of human and community interest. In the question of whether we should raise sugar beets or not, far from doing any harm, an unhampered, open debate can only help. And if a young scholar comes out with an opinion touching upon entirely professional questions and differing from that of the aged authorities in his field, it may also be in our common interest that he can express his standpoint even without the department head's seal. I could list examples where the suspicion cannot emerge that the interests of society and socialism would be at stake--but it is simply not our practice to debate the questions freely and openly.

#### Principles and Practice

/Question/ I would interject here that the practice at such a time diametrically contradicts the fundamental principles. The thesis has been proclaimed a thousand times that the hegemony of Marxism cannot assure the monopoly of any kind of opinion, and within the framework of the constitution it is not necessary to make room for the open meeting of non-Marxist views; assurance of this hegemony is to be experienced from the arguments not of the censorship but of the enemy.

/Answer/ There are, however, areas in which interests are no longer so indisputable, such as the question of the situation of Hungarians collectively in the world or in the vicinity. Then come peripheral matters. You mentioned

pornography just a short while ago, but in my view what is equally dangerous is the outpouring of sexual stimulation which I objected to in juvenile newspapers.

Answer But the practice remained essentially a longstanding one. They didn't debate, but I waited a long time. After all, I didn't exhaust all my ammunition. I wasn't able to fire off the rest, simply because the adversary who would have assumed the viewpoint justifying the practice didn't show up. It is possible to eliminate the debate in this way, but in the past 30 years we have been able to accumulate enough experience to know that the elimination of debate always harms us, always harms progress and socialism. We ought to restrict this practice to a narrower and narrower area and provide a more and more spacious terrain for debates.

Question The essence of what you're saying would be that there is chiefly a need to advance through enlightening exchanges of views toward national unity.

Answer The enlightening exchanges of views created by themselves the national unity. It is not necessary to proclaim slogans and stick posters on walls. If the possibilities for debate are broadened, the encounter of diverse opinions becomes natural, and this, of course, brings about national unity. Then those who debate furiously with each other are conscious of the common cause which binds them together emotionally.

#### Public Life and Program Literature

Question Would you have anything to say about this?

Answer One thing, anyway. This entire conversation has gone overboard in presenting me as a public commentator, but as a creative writer I do not want to bury myself in public life. A great many people in our country misconstrue the role of public life in literature. They imagine that if someone pursues considerable activity in public-commentary, then inevitably he will turn out program literature when he writes novels, short stories and plays. That is not the case, I am not in the slightest degree an adherent of program literature.

The great trend in Hungarian literature has always been to take upon itself the involvement in public affairs, and I would like to add to this the conscientious command that it must do this. But this does not mean that in the other dimension, that of fiction, which is the territory of emotion and artistic beauty, I also represent tendentiousness. It is natural that the knowledge I obtain in the country--the innumerable letters, the experiences of conferences--in turn slip into my fictional writings. But this does not absolve the public-life writer--as Tolstoy said--from taking a stand, from writing fiction in his mother tongue. I don't know whether it is understandable that here, of course, the emotions are often identical....

Question And obviously the principles, too, I think. You do not have separate opinions as public commentator and writer of fiction about sociopolitical matters. The same person expresses himself within the limits of a different craft, profession....

Answer And according to its laws. In the last analysis this means that I am not a believer in literature which is a representation, an epigonism of games or gymnastic showpieces or fashionable trends, and so forth. Though I would not eliminate anything here, because if something provokes me--and at such a time I am usually aggressive--that is the elimination. I would open the way for all kinds of experiments. But I certainly like literature which lets its age shine through and represents it in some kind of transcription.

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CSO: 2500/456

## CHURCH-LINKED RURAL MODERNIZATION PROGRAM NEARS REALITY

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 18 Jul 84 p 4

[Article by Joerg Bremer dateline Warsaw, 17 July: "Endowment for Modernizing Polish Agriculture is Taking Shape. Political Hurdles Almost Overcome"]

[Text] By order of the Polish bishops' conference, economic experts prepared precise calculations of the cost of the program to modernize Polish agriculture which had been suggested 3 years ago by the German bishops' conference. According to the Polish experts' estimates, the endowment will need about DM 5 billion, spread out over 5 years. A pilot project, which could be started as early as 1985, would cost about DM 78 million. The money is to come primarily from the FRG, but also from the funds of other churches, other governments, and the European Community. Representatives of the Polish church are currently traveling around the world in order to introduce the project, and to "pry loose" the promised funds.

Recently, the Catholic weekly paper TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY published a decree by the Polish primate. According to this, Cardinal Glemp appointed an organizational committee on June 9 which is to "create" the agricultural endowment of the Polish bishops' conference and help it "to be registered." This committee has 12 members. Its chairman is scientist, Stelmachowski; a priest, Orszulik, represents the primate on the council; and the secretariat is managed by a woman lecturer, Stolzman. It is difficult to explain why the report of this founding was printed only one month later. In Warsaw, some people suspect that its publication had to pass not only censorship, but also higher government authorities. For this reason, publication of the decree now creates optimism. Informed sources in Warsaw claim that only individual formulation of the statutes, which currently are being negotiated between state and church, are holding up the establishment of the endowment. The question of taxation is not yet settled.

The Polish church hopes to begin the first projects by the end of this year. In 1986 the central program, distributed over 5 years, is to be taken up. The assistance is to benefit primarily private Polish farmers and craftsmen. 78 percent of Polish agriculture is private; some figures show how backward these farms are: only 32 percent of the farms, on an average size of not quite 5 hectares, have sanitary installations with running water, and only 12 percent are connected to the public water main. The agricultural fund is to aid

farmers through self-help. The major points of the program, as currently envisioned by the organizational committee, are modernization of the water supply, establishment of repair shops, vulcanization works and machine shops. The project also plans improved supply of building materials and chemicals. Small enterprises processing fruit and vegetables are to be supported, and the purchase of lightweight tractors and other agricultural machines is also proposed. The idea is that the endowment uses foreign exchange to buy goods which then can be purchased by the farmers with zlotys. The national currency fund thus being created will be available later for loans to Polish farmers and craftsmen.

One example: Currently at least 600,000 small tractors are needed in Polish agriculture. Only about 60,000 come on the market annually. The Warsaw tractor plant, Ursus, actually has on hand semi-finished production parts for the Massey-Ferguson MF-235 tractor being built under license. But nothing is being done about them; because of a lack of foreign currency, many of the cast and wrought parts cannot be imported. It is 40 percent cheaper to assemble this tractor in Poland than to import the finished product. This is where the endowment wants to become active. It would bring in the cast and wrought parts from the West, in turn buy tractors from the Ursus plant and then sell them to farmers. This suits the Ursus factory very well, since this tractor is too small for state farms, and it is not allowed to export the licensed model.

Improving the water supply is another item in the endowment program. It is not only to bring about greater efficiency, but also to improve health conditions for the rural population. In this respect it is more difficult to ascertain the foundation's activity. Above all, the interest of enterprises and workshops in such an investment must be stimulated. The endowed foundation could also promote the creation of new workshops. In addition, such enterprises would also have to be supplied with materials, for example, PVC pipes. Among other things, the pilot program plans to supply water for six selected villages with an average of 30 individual water and sewer installations each. However, agriculture minister Zieba has already come out against the creation of "golden islands." The endowment's representatives also encounter mistrust among the rural populace against any type of cooperative organization, such as self-organization of villages or establishing a machine pool, for instance. The Polish episcopate also needs advisers for the farmers of the parishes. This task would overtax the priests. The Adenauer Foundation, for example, has offered assistance in training experts.

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CSO: 2300/572

POLAND

HISTORY, COOPERATION WITH GDR, USSR DISCUSSED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 39 No 7, Jul 84 (signed to press 15 Jun 84)  
pp 640-648

[Article by Jozef Czyrek, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo,  
secretary of the PZPR Central Committee: "40 Years of Socialist People's  
Poland"]

[Text] On 22 July 1984 it will have been 40 years since the manifesto of the Polish National Liberation Committee was proclaimed. Two historic events of imperishable importance initiated the history of People's Poland. At New Year's eve 1943/44, on the initiative of leftist groups, the National Council was set up. That was the beginning of the people's power, the first--illegal--parliament, composed of democratic forces, communists, and socialists of the united front, the radical peasant movement and the progressive intelligentsia.

The manifesto proclaimed to the Polish nation on 22 July 1944 by the Polish National Liberation Committee, the National Council's executive organ, contained the program for the liberation of the whole country and for the revolutionary social transformations that paved the way to People's Poland.

In these events culminated the lengthy political process marked by the struggle of the social Left for national liberation and the reconstituting of the Polish state, for social justice, the citizens' equality and democracy. That was a process replete with the active measures by the revolutionary workers parties, the Grand Proletariat, the Social Democratic Party of the kingdom of Poland and Lithuania, the Socialist Party of Poland--Left, the Communist Party of Poland and the leftist forces in the socialist movement fighting for a People's Poland.

Not only in Poland's most recent history, but in the whole millenium of the Polish state, 22 July 1944 occupies a special place. That was the start of a new historic phase in which there was fulfilled the unification of the inseparable ideals of national and social liberation, together with the establishing of the people's power and with taking the road toward important social transformations, with the Polish-Soviet alliance and our fatherland's membership among the states engaged in the construction of socialism.

Even if it takes longer than one day to settle historic processes, 22 July 1944 is yet not only a symbol, but a genuine line of demarkation between two eras fundamentally different in substance. The system of exploitation of the working people by privileged, propertied classes and the national oppression of which the bloodiest and crudest expression in our history was the genocidal Hitler occupation, now had become a matter of the past. Part of the past now also were the weakness and isolation of Poland, the sources for the disintegration of the state, and the suffering of the people.

The prospect of an independent peaceful state within new and just borders was fulfilled. Its solidity and security from now on were to depend on reliable alliances undergirded by common interests and aspirations, by a community in ideology and social order. There came the great chance for healing quickly the wounds of war, for a successful reconstruction of the country and advancing toward political and social development, the development of the economy and of civilization, of education and culture.

In this process, which fundamentally transformed the life of our people, the social class-bound and national-political lines converged and fused into unity. That expressed the essence of the synthesis produced by the Polish Workers Party, the Polish communists, and the other social forces of the Left. Therein lay its new purpose and pioneering significance. This time Poland arose as a state of the working people that relied on the class alliance of the workers and peasants under Marxist-Leninist working party leadership, in a coalition with all progressive social forces in our country.

In the struggle against followers and residues of what had been, a socially rising country of the working classes and strata evolved, a country of those who had never yet been guaranteed the opportunity by reality, neither in previous centuries nor during the partitions or in the time between the two world wars, to have equal rights as citizens, the same right to work and education and the chance for social advance. Through sharp class struggle the authentic power of the working people was consolidated, seeking to guarantee the primacy of the working people's interests, establish a social order of social justice, and lay the foundation for a safe future. Through the revolutionary character of the transformations taken on, through the revolutionary attitude by its leadership force, the Polish Workers Party, which worked closely together with the socialist and democratic Left and leftist forces in the peasants movement, Poland entered the current of the great social transformations of the 20th century that had been initiated by the victory of the Great Socialist October Revolution, the birth of the first socialist state in the world. The striking sociopolitical transformations in our country were an essential element of the revolutionary processes that gave rise to the community of socialist states that embodies a new type of international relations relying on the principles of internationalism, fraternal cooperation and mutual aid.

Through such historic achievements the Polish people got its full and permanent independence, fair and advantageous borders, and reliable support through the alliance and friendship with the Soviet land and the socialist neighbors and friends. As a close ally of the USSR and active participant in the victorious struggle against Hitler fascism, it got the right to share in the decision over what the countenance of postwar Europe should be. It gained a firm, dignified and safe place in the world and a respected partnership in constructive peace activities in international affairs.

The epochal significance of what got started on 22 July 1944 does not end there, however. The abolition of exploitation by the capitalists and landowners, the securing of the general right to work, to the soil and school education, to medical care and books, proceeding toward a fast reconstruction and an extension of the economic potential, all that paved the way for the construction of socialist social relations. That are undeniable and permanent achievements throughout the 40 years of People's Poland.

The July manifest settled all the basic problems relative to the future shape of reborn Poland. Therein lay its historic significance. From it derive the permanence and vitality of its substance, which combines the class and national, patriotic and internationalist factors into a unified whole. The choice made 40 years ago has lost none of its relevance. The dramatic events of recent years have deepened it and placed it in new and sharper relief.

At the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress we said we would defend socialism and Poland's independence. Defending socialism means defending, reinforcing and deepening what was started in our country by the July manifesto from the Polish National Liberation Committee.

The assessment of the birth and growth of People's Poland in recent years has proceeded under the conditions of ideological and political struggle. The enemies of socialism, relying on the western imperialist psychological propaganda warfare circles, meant to revise the meaning and correctness of the road taken by our people in this new phase of its history as well as the great beginning of that road in July 1944. On such a revision they wanted to base their struggle against the constitutional order of the Polish People's Republic, against our party and its leadership role, and against our state's alliances and foreign policy principles.

In other words, we faced an attempt to shore up the counterrevolutionary designs through a corresponding change in the basic assessment of what had been in the past. That assault has been rebuffed. Repairing its effects and going into a well prepared, argument-rich and systematic offensive in the whole area of an awareness of and education in history is now one of the major tasks in the ideological and political activity of our party and the other broad forces working in concert with it.

Efforts in that direction were supported particularly by the 13th PZPR Central Committee plenum last year, devoted to ideological work. The election reporting campaign in the party's territorial units and organizations from late 1983 to early 1984 and the PZPR territorial delegates conference held in March this year have played an important role in the process of ideological and organizational party consolidation.

In our offensive in history education we stress the role of the Soviet Army, documented by over 600,000 soldiers killed, in liberating all Polish regions and saving our people from biological extinction. We stress the maturity and role of those forces that are advocating a People's Poland and the readiness of a significant segment of the workers and peasants and the intelligentsia to tackle the tasks of the Polish social revolution and establish a new order.

We explain the great, respectable contribution the Polish People's Army made to the victory over Hitler fascism and to bringing the ideas of the July manifesto to realization.

For Poland and for peace in Europe, the permanence and inviolability of the Yalta and the Potsdam accords are of special importance. They had a great influence on determining the international terms and the framework of Poland's rebirth in a new territorial and political shape. The optimum boundaries for the reevolving state, for our own people as well as for peace in Europe, were set. Essential premises were created for fully implementing international law by their means.

From the historic settlement came a historic changeover in Poland's most important relations with its mighty socialist neighbor, the Soviet Union. The strong ties in the alliance, the friendship and the all-round collaboration with the USSR, the active role within the socialist community, and the development of cooperation with the GDR became reliable points of support throughout the entire postwar period against the political-territorial claims from West German revanchism and its allies in other capitalist countries.

All that is of special relevance today because within the scope of Reagan's course of inciting tension in east-west relations, voices are being heard in the United States, the FRG and some other NATO states which call for overthrowing the peace order in Europe set down in Yalta and Potsdam.

None of that is going to compute, of course, because it amounts to reckoning without one's host, oblivious to the real correlation of forces in Europe and in the world, to the interests of peace.

We attribute great importance in Poland to the consolidation and development of all-round friendly cooperation with our western socialist neighbor, the GDR. The founding of the first socialist workers and farmers state on German soil 35 years ago was of far-reaching significance in the historic process that evolved the socialist community and a peace order on our continent. That fact was also of great importance to Poland. The Goerlitz Agreement between Poland and the GDR in 1950, which confirmed the Oder-Neisse line as the border, lending it the character of a permanent boundary of friendship and peace, played a significant role in reinforcing the political-territorial reality that had been generated in Europe by the victory over Hitler fascism.

Poland and the GDR are important links in the chain of the community of socialist states. We are united through our inseparable alliance with the Soviet Union. We are united by the numerous strands of cooperation within the framework of the structures of the community of socialist states, the Warsaw Pact and CEMA. The solid foundation of the friendship and cooperation relations between Poland and the GDR, as reinforced in recent decades, relies on common ideals and a common social order, on Marxist-Leninist ideology, the principles of socialist internationalism, and the far-reaching conformity of vital interests as between our states and peoples.

Those principles were reflected in the friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance treaty when it was renewed in 1977. Of great importance in recent years has been the exchange of top level visits such as that of a party and state delegation from Poland, headed by Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski, in the GDR in 1982, as that of a GDR party and state delegation, headed by Comrade Erich Honecker, in Poland last year. They served as an emphatic confirmation of the unshakeable foundations of the alliance between our two states and of the all-round development of friendly relations between our peoples.

The GDR is our country's worthy partner in all-round cooperation and an ally in our common struggle for permanent peace and the construction of socialism. Poland needs a strong and friendly GDR, as for the GDR the strength and successful development of socialist Poland is indispensable. The solidifying bonds of cooperation and good neighborly relations, including the close contacts between our countries' working people, especially the youth, are an important factor for establishing a better future.

Our joint resolve and conformity of action in the international arena are foiling the imperialist designs and are setting up a barrier to the forces of revanchism and reaction that again are more in evidence across the Elbe. Warsaw and Berlin resolutely hold to the standpoint of recognizing and respecting the political-territorial realities of postwar Europe, the consolidation of the peaceful coexistence principles, and the collaboration on our continent. Poland and the GDR together with the other fraternal socialist states are working closely together in the international arena and are making an essential contribution to the efforts at limiting the arms race, stopping the perilous developments in the international situation, and defending the foundations of peace in Europe and in the world.

#### Imbued With Responsibility for the Day and the Morrow of Socialist Poland

The 40-year existence of People's Poland furnishes all one needs to answer the main question: Who was right? Who understood correctly Poland's interests in the struggle for the countenance of the future state during the war and under the occupation and for establishing and strengthening the people's power in the early postwar years?

To that, there can be none but one answer. Those were right who in the years between the world wars fought against the exploitation by the landowners and capitalists, against social injustice and the prejudice against minorities, or against the paradox concept that would lead to isolation and destruction of seeking friends afar and foes near by. Those who during the war wanted closely to combine an immediate, active struggle against the Hitler occupiers with establishing a broad democratic front, wanted a program for people's democratic transformations, and a Polish-Soviet comradeship-in-arms and political alliance. Those who in the early postwar years gave all they could to reinforce People's Poland and launch it toward the construction of socialism. Those who established those bases, year after year and phase after phase, to assure the fatherland of its social transformation and material and intellectual development. Those who in the critical times of recent years sided with socialism and its renewal based on class-bound Marxist-Leninist principles and opposed the counterrevolutionary designs of anarchy, the dismantling of the state, and the destruction of our alliances and of the accomplishments of Polish foreign policy.

At the ninth party congress, the seventh, twelfth and thirteenth Central Committee plena, and the delegates conference, the party emphasized the continuity and inviolability of the general line for revolutionary transformations and the construction of socialism and, with it, the consistent implementation of revisions and reforms, an essential inference drawn from errors committed and deformations that had evolved. They were attributable either to lack of consistency or persistence in implementing the universal Marxist-Leninist laws and principles of the new social order or to an inability to implement them relative to the specifics of our Polish conditions, or could be attributed to both these weaknesses as such.

Mistakes cannot be avoided; we do not intend to hush them up. That is attested to by the self-critical assessment of their sources and causes as undertaken by our party at the sixth plenum in 1980 and at the Ninth Extraordinary Congress 3 years ago, an assessment further deepened through intensive efforts by a Central Committee commission, their results then passed on by the twelfth plenum. The inferences drawn from that for the future are imperative for our party, our political allies, all constructive social forces, the state and the economy, and the processes of civic education so that a resurgence of crisis-inducing factors is barred, and it is not being permitted that contradictions not observed in time or underrated turn into conflicts ruining our country or throwing us back in our development.

This is the intention in which we have couched the program line of the ninth party congress. This is the intention in which we have implemented a far-reaching reform program that conforms with the principles of our social order and is democratic in character, and we shall keep doing that. Guided by that, we are expanding the platform for the Patriotic Movement of National Rebirth as well as other levels of understanding and cooperation among people of good faith and civic intent, regardless of their world-outlook, biography, differences of opinion in various matters, and of what they did yesterday.

The basic platform for applying the conclusions resulting from the crisis is a persistent reconstruction of the Marxist-Leninist party's capacities and their consolidation along the line expressed by the slogan, "the same and yet not the same," the task of reinforcing the Leninist principles of democratic centralism, intensifying and aggressively activating ideological-intellectual life, and fortifying the ties with the workers class and the working people at large.

This self-criticism, stemming from Marxist-Leninist ideology, and turned into a directive for action, must have nothing in common with any negation of the unarguable accomplishments of the socialist transformations, or with any defeatist propaganda. Ignoring the accomplishments and exaggerating the difficulties would merely block our surmounting the crisis and persistently moving ahead. The great accomplishments of 40 years are not only there, they are "working" and are the basis for the evermore evident advances we are making at the present.

This is not the place for a detailed accounting for the achievements of People's Poland in social consciousness and transformations, industrial and agricultural development, technology, science and education, social accomplishments and culture.

Great, for the urban and rural working people, is what came out of this successful transformation of the social structure and of socioeconomic relations, of the development of public property and of ensuring its primacy in economic life.

This horribly destroyed and ravaged land, bled to death to a degree unprecedented in history--the war and the occupation eradicated over 6 million human lives--had barely 25 million people when it set out for being rebuilt. With nearly 37 million inhabitants today, it reached a record in demographic vigor in post-war Europe.

There are more people with college education in the PZPR today than there were in all of Poland before the war. Farmland became an industrial-agrarian land with many new and modern production branches. The productive forces' current stage of development shows both the range of our achievements and how much had to be made up for; it attests to the significance of introducing and developing the planned economy and to the improvements needed in line with the new requirements.

Incomparably higher is the degree of satisfying the working people's needs in social benefits, science, education and culture, the exceedingly fast urbanization processes in these 40 years, housing construction and the communal economy, public health and benefits for mothers and children. Gone is unemployment, the rural surplus population, the drama of redundant people for whom there had been no jobs under the bourgeois and the landowners' governments. All that, as much as illiteracy, now belongs to the remote past.

Our trumps for the future lie in ever better dealing with the natural resources, with bituminous coal and lignite, copper, sulphur, and more farm acreage. They lie in the built-up and highly modernized industry and our remarkable agricultural potential. They lie in our infrastructure which can satisfy public needs more and more. The leading force in the transformations in Poland are the people, mostly young and strong ones, educated and well prepared for their occupations, especially the diligent, dedicated, experienced working class. There is the large number of peasants who know how to manage their business; there are the many highly skilled scientists and technicians, production organizers and economists, teachers and physicians, agronomists and jurists, creators of culture and art, and the journalists. It also is the vast range of experiences that, properly used, become valuable capital for the future.

People's Poland is like a tree which keeps adding annual rings despite all the frost and tempests. On that we base our unbreakable conviction, confirmed by more and more facts in the course of time, that the crisis is going to be totally surmounted and the processes of successful development are being speeded up. Aware of our difficulties, we act with perfect optimism, because Poland is a state provided with a large number of the ideological, political, economic and moral trumps of a new and higher social order.

"The common denominator," the first PZPR Central Committee secretary said at the 12th plenum, "thus is a real Poland between Bug and Oder. And it is a Poland in trouble, threatened with falling back farther, with degradation. That forms an exceptionally strong argument for actions, for occupationally and publicly activating every genuine patriot."

## In Concert With the Fraternal Countries for Socialism and Peace

We are not alone. The Soviet Union and the states in the socialist community are friendly and sympathetic to our problems and difficulties. The important confidence for anyone, the conviction that we have friends, is--applied to international relations--of very great importance. Poland's tough history has taught us that isolation equals weakness, whereas a genuine alliance partnership lends strength and safety. This truth has been confirmed throughout the entire postwar period.

Poland, which bore the burdens of World War II in Europe for the longest time, from the first to the last day, and was afflicted most brutally, and which still gathered the strength to contribute worthily to the victory of 1945, has ceased being alone and will never again be alone. That has been corroborated by the heroic joint struggles of the Soviet Army and the Polish People's Army. The Soviet and Polish flags, hoisted side by side in May 1945, documented that as evidence for their triumph.

The spirit of good neighborliness and solidarity, trust and collaboration, inherent in the principles of internationalism, has since been an attribute of Poland's relations with the fraternal states and served the vital interests of the entire socialist community. The value of these relations also was attested to by the actual help and cooperation in critical moments, carrying special weight when Poland's destiny was at stake. And all that is being expressed at the present time as well.

Every day we confirm the certitude that was expressed at the 26th CPSU Congress, that the communists and working people in fraternal Poland settle the many problems in our political and economic development. Of great importance for consolidating and further developing the fraternal friendship and all-round collaboration between the PZPR and the CPSU, between Poland and the USSR, were in particular the meetings and talks between the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, Comrade W. Jaruzelski, and Comrade K. Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. So was the most recent visit by a Polish working delegation in the USSR. Fruitful also have been the results of mutual visits between PZPR and state representatives and those of the GDR, the CSSR and other fraternal countries. The treaties signed and the initiatives taken are of mutual benefit and play an essential role in stabilizing our economy and overcoming our aggravated difficulties brought about by the policy of restrictions and attempts at economic blackmail from the United States and some other NATO states.

A picture of Poland as the object of unilateral aid operations would of course be distorted and false. Despite our difficulties, our remarkable potential makes us a valuable and creditable partner. On that we base our share in the consolidation and cooperation and in the bilateral relations with the socialist states and multilateral relations within CEMA. We have made it a program principle to focus Poland's economy more resolutely still at the international socialist division of labor and the reliability of internationalist collaboration with the fraternal countries relying on mutual advantages.

In addition to the Marxist-Leninist ideology and to what we have in common in our social order and development strategy, we have been and are all the more today tied to the fraternal countries by our anxiety about peace. That anxiousness is natural to peoples whose ideology demands that they be creative and not destructive, that they build and do not destroy.

We live at a time when the class struggle has intensified at a global scale. Imperialism seeks to alter the correlation of forces and achieve military superiority over the world of socialism. The Reagan administration and the military circles of NATO are pushing the arms race in an exceedingly dangerous manner. Again voices have been raised that question the territorial-political realities brought about in Europe by the triumph over Hitler fascism and by peaceful post-war development. Across the Elbe, advocates of the FRG's revanchist, revisionist line are speaking up again. The anticommunist aggression of psychological propaganda is intensifying, and there are persistent attempts at interfering in the internal affairs of socialist states, of which we can provide evidence with regard to our own country.

Within the scope of the aggressive, ultraconservative, extreme anticommunist strategy of imperialism, the plan was generated to use the Polish difficulties as material for a vast campaign against socialism and peaceful coexistence, to play the Polish card, as they say, for purposes that are openly hostile to peace. That plan we foiled ourselves by our sovereign 13 December 1981 resolution. We know from our own history and that of other socialist states it was not the first example of the attempt to turn back the course of history. They have all ended in fiasco, starting in 1917. Nor is it otherwise this time.

The ideological struggle in the contemporary world under the conditions that there exist diametrically opposed socioeconomic systems is an objective fact. Poland and the CDR, together with the USSR, have consistently shared the standpoint, and are sharing it today, that the historic contradiction between capitalism and socialism cannot be resolved by military means. In the nuclear era, that would be tantamount to a global catastrophe. Our peoples know that very well. Living in the nerve center of our continent, they would be the first victims of a nuclear collision. That strengthens our vigilance and deepens our irrevocable dedication to peace.

The socialist states' resolve to avert the risk of nuclear war, seeking a recovery of international relations, a consolidation of the infrastructure of peace and detente, and a halt to the arms race, is expressed in the socialist states' active policy. That is the direction in which a number of new initiatives from the Soviet Union are pointing consistently. More necessary than ever after World War II today is the struggle for peace. We are convinced it will end in victory in spite of all the great dangers.

People's Poland holds a permanent and firm place in Europe and in the world. That is determined by our social and national aspirations, experiences and interests. It is established by the socialist content of our social order and the Marxist-Leninist character of our party, and by our membership in the Warsaw Pact and CEMA. It is governed by our irrevocable will to peace and international cooperation.

All that connects with the date of 22 July 1944 is contained in the 40th anniversary of the manifesto from the Polish National Liberation Committee. We are celebrating this anniversary as a national holiday and as a day of social liberation, independence and socialism, progress and the development of friendship and peace.

There is an ample program for Poland's anniversary festivities. Its essence and its most permanent and valuable form of tribute to this important anniversary lies in fortifying the sense of patriotic responsibility for today and tomorrow in socialist Poland, expressed in the efforts for its well-being and in the readiness to increase its material and intellectual achievements through new accomplishments.

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YUGOSLAVIA

KOMUNIST ON ORGANIZING, DIRECTING PARTY DEBATE

AU251845 Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian No 1425 20 Jul 84 p 1

[Unattributed editorial: "To Change Relations and Behavior"]

[Text] The proposal in the LCY Central Committee conclusions on the realization of the leading role of the LCY and strengthening its ideological and action unity has already reached or will these days reach every LC member, every working man, every home. All of us have been sent an obliging, communist call to simultaneously join in a collective critical examination and evaluation of the situation and relations in the party and society and in an action on the implementation of the established policy, and primarily of the long-term Economic Stabilization Program.

It is still too early to say that the debate and action have started, but one can speak about the great activity of the LC leaderships at all levels who are preparing themselves to lead, stimulate, and monitor this wide and ambitious party action. Besides the LCY Central Committee Presidium, which discussed this at its session on Tuesday, 17 July, republican and provincial LC committees or their political executive organs have already held or convened session, sessions and conferences with presidents and secretaries of communal committees are being held or prepared, and preparations at the basic LC organizations themselves are underway as well. This period of vacations should be used by all leaderships for thorough preparations and for establishing the action program, because without that the debate might very easily take an undesirable course and therefore great expectations would remain unfulfilled to the end. In contrast to the practice so far, when they considered their obligation fulfilled at the moment they "produced" documents and addressed them to basic organizations, the leaderships now have to initiate, encourage, and directly include themselves in the debate.

Let us recall once again that the debate must be organized and carried out in such a way that it contributes to perceiving the ideopolitical, organizational, action, and cadre preparedness of the LC for the realization of its leading role, opens space for engaging all creative forces in the LC and society, and spurs the widest activity in realizing the policy established and in strengthening the ideological and action unity of the LC. And this means that the debate, especially in basic organizations of the LC, must not be reduced to "going through" the material once, to formal declaration and

accepting or rejecting the conclusions, but an essential, openly critical and concrete debate should be held at many sessions in which everyone should speak up about current questions initiated at the 13th session of the LCY Central Committee and in the proposal of the conclusions. Sessions of basic organizations of the LC must conclude by adopting concrete stands and proposals and by establishing a list of obligations and activities of both the organization and every one of its members.

Of course, the demand to organize and direct the debate can by no means be interpreted as someone's desire that it should be controlled and supervised, that the original critical tones of the membership should be "tuned" according to what has been said at forums or by individuals from them, that topics should have limits set on them, and bans should be imposed on open and critical observations and labelling of phenomena and of behavior of individuals and leaderships. Nobody wants that and it simply must not be allowed, because what purpose would a general party debate serve if not to include after a long time the "collective mind of a collective intellectual" into seeking a way out of the crisis by solving the accumulated class contradictions and by further ideo-theoretical breakthroughs.

However, one should point here to an especially increased critical attitude toward the LCY among both its members themselves and other people, which will doubtlessly mark the whole debate. The need for open critical confrontation certainly is not and cannot be disputed as long as all this bears positive change and is directed toward seeking positive changes that will reaffirm the role of the LC and return dignity to communist engagement. However, criticism for criticism's sake, criticism for pacifying the conscience is not needed. What we need is criticism that is constructive and that means concrete differentiation on the working and ideopolitical plane. One has to restore dignity to criticism, which is the very purpose of criticism. If criticism is not followed by responsibility, if immunity from responsibility has been provided for individuals in the realm of opportunism that has occupied so much space in the LC and society, the critical word really becomes senseless and counterproductive.

In the debate and the action we are starting, critical dialogue should be understood as an overture to the overall differentiation and confrontation of arguments and opinions, and, of course, people. Without ideopolitical differentiation, our stabilization motor will not accelerate. The proposal of conclusions clearly repeats what for the past year is a common knowledge--that many are neither willing nor able to implement the Long-Term Stabilization Program. If it is written in the conclusions that "Communists, and especially those in prominent social functions, who fail to implement LCY stands, who open discussions again about already adopted stands from the program, and irresponsibility relate to the obligations in its realization have to bear the consequences for that, all the way to being removed from their posts and expelled from the LC"--then this means that this stand must once be implemented in practice. This means, let us take an example, that communists in the Federal Executive Council, in professional services, and in the SFRY Assembly who after 1 year fail to adopt expected measures in the sphere of the economic system and obstruct the stabilization themselves

have to publicly state why they failed to do that, whether they do not want or do not know how to perform obligations taken. Or the LC, members of which they are, should remind them of their debt to the party norms.

It has been shown more and more every day that the LC must free itself from the burden formed by numerous fellow travelers, careerists, those fascinated by a petit-bourgeois spirit. It especially has to reject this special kind of "fifth column" of bourgeois liberals, dogmatists, and nationalists that has infiltrated its ranks and is destroying its revolutionary being from within. Everyone should ask everyone else whether he wants to be in the workers class vanguard and whether he is ready and sufficiently brave to fight for revolutionary purposes, to say it in words and prove it by deeds.

What has to be especially warned about is that one must not allow a space opened in the debate for ideological and class opponents, for anti-self-management and antisocialists forces. On the basis of their intensified activity lately, their impudence and arrogance they have been showing, one could expect these forces to try to take advantage of the open general party debate to advance their unacceptable views, trying to deny the role of the LC and the very achievements of the socialist revolution. By organizing and directing the debate and action one should also eliminate the danger from extremist and quasi-radicalist approaches from which would ensue a negative attitude toward the conclusions of the LCY Central Committee and toward the overall practice and achievements of society.

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YUGOSLAVIA

BRIEFS

ARMY OFFICIAL IN SAWPY PRESIDIUM--At a recent session of the SAWPY Federal Conference (at the proposal of the Yugoslav People's Army), Colonel General Milan Daljevic, assistant federal secretary for national defense, was elected member of the Presidium of that body. At the same time, the meeting appointed General Daljevic president of the Coordination Committee for All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection of the aforementioned conference in the next mandate period. [Excerpt] [Belgrade NARODNA LARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian No 2346 28 Jun 84 p 2 AU]

NEW OSLOBODJENJE EDITOR--Sarajevo, 30 Jul (TANJUG)--At its session today, the Presidium of the Bosnia-Hercegovina SAWP Federal Conference appointed Ivica Misic, member of the Presidium of Sarajevo LC City Committee, to be chief and responsible editor of Sarajevo daily OSLOBODJENJE. Petar Jovic, an editor on the KOMUNIST editorial board for BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA, has been appointed director of the OSLOBODJENJE basic organization of associated labor. [Summary] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0820 GMT 30 Jul 84 LD]

TANJUG EDITOR DIES--Belgrade, 31 Jul (TANJUG)--Dragos Stanojevic, for many years the responsible editor of the TANJUG foreign editorial board, died in Belgrade this morning after a brief illness. He was 53. [Summary] [LD010310 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0915 GMT 31 Jul 84]

DEJANOVIC MEETS NICARAGUAN OFFICIALS--Managua, 24 Jul (TANJUG)--Yugoslavia and Nicaragua will seek to further develop their cooperation, especially in the economic field--it was stated in talks here between Dr Sergio Ramirez, member of the Nicaraguan collective leadership, and Jovan Dejanovic, member of the Yugoslav Socialist Alliance Presidency. The Yugoslav functionary attended the recent celebration in Managua marking the fifth anniversary of the Sandinista revolution. During the meeting, Ramirez pointed out that the early opening of a Yugoslav embassy in Managua would give a major impetus to the advancement of mutual relations. At a separate meeting Nicaraguan Minister of Agricultural Development Jaime Wheelock and Dejanovic reviewed opportunities for the Yugoslav enterprises' participation in maize production, in developing a system of irrigation and in other agricultural projects in Nicaragua. In Managua, Dejanovic also met a Salvadorean insurgent leader, Guillermo Manuel Ungo. They discussed possibilities of a peaceful settlement of the conflict in El Salvador and prevention of outside intervention. [Text] [LD241008 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0923 GMT 24 Jul 84]

PRC CHIEF OF STAFF--Belgrade, 25 Jul (TANJUG)--League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Central Committee Presidency member Petar Matic today (Wednesday) conferred with Chinese Communist Party (CCP) Central Committee Politburo member, CCP Central Committee Military Commission Deputy Secretary General and Chinese People's Army Chief of General Staff Yang Dezhi. Yang is at the head of a Chinese Army delegation on a visit to Yugoslavia. During the friendly and cordial meeting, Matic and Yang noted that relations and cooperation between the two parties and the two countries as a whole are good and that they are successfully being developed in keeping with the well-known principles. Matic and Yang also discussed the international situation, developments in the workers' and other progressive movements and activity of the two parties and countries on the international level. Yang and the Chinese delegation paid a visit to the permanent exhibition of Yugoslav weapons and military equipment at Nikinci near Belgrade. The guests were informed about certain tactical-technical characteristics of infantry, artillery, armoured and other weapons, ammunition, powder and other equipment manufactured in Yugoslav factories.

[Text] [LD251819 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1655 GMT 25 Jul 84]

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